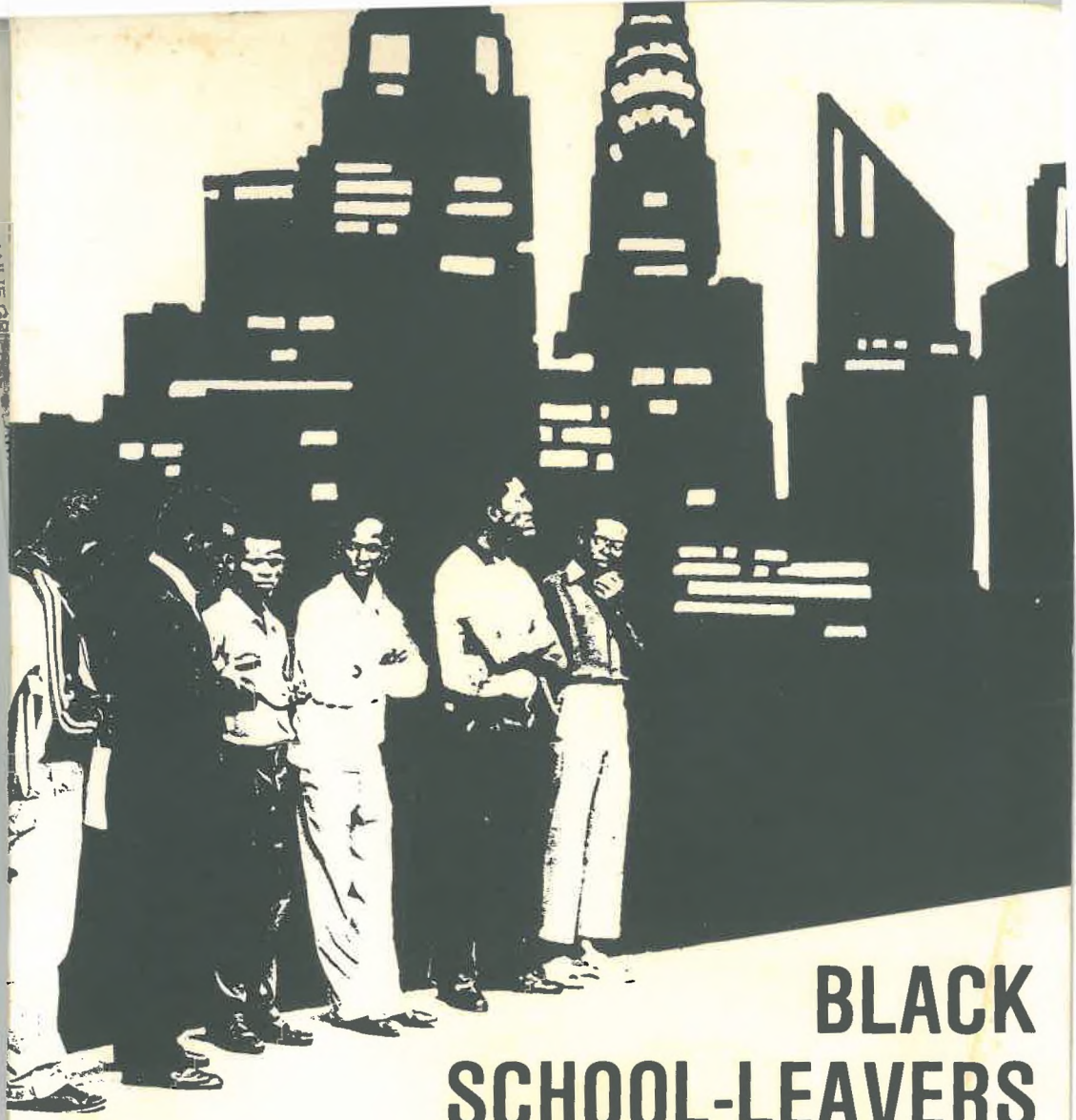


HANLIE GRIESEL



**BLACK
SCHOOL-LEAVERS
IN THE URBAN INDUSTRIAL
WORK ENVIRONMENT: DISADVANTAGE
& ALIENATION**

Hanlie Griesel • Lawrence Schlemmer

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**BLACK SCHOOL-LEAVERS IN THE URBAN
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DISADVANTAGE AND ALIENATION

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PREFACE

The major aim of the Black School-leaver and Teacher Education Project was to provide a research basis for the development and evaluation of a programme to facilitate black progress in clerical and administrative employment in urban industrial work settings. Research conducted covered the period from July 1982 until December 1984. During this period two Work Orientation and Language Programmes were run in conjunction with the Career Information Centre.* The programme, which is by now well established and which has benefited greatly from the invaluable input of trainers at the Career Information Centre, will in future continue to be offered by this Centre.

The nature of the research was by definition process orientated. Many insights were gained during the running of the programmes as well as through the number of research undertakings. It is an unusually daunting task to write up a succinct research report on data of all kinds derived not only from the day-to-day practical experiences of the participants involved, but also from the empirical enquiries undertaken by the researchers.

For those who have automatic faith in empirical research, it is perhaps important to point out that the explicit aim of the research was to reconstruct an authentic picture of the differing perceptions of the experiences of new black recruits in industry. A further aim was to explore possible reasons for certain behaviour patterns of young blacks in industry.

* The Career Information Centre is a non-profit organisation which aims to develop the potential of young people and increase their ability to find employment. Trainers at the Centre have become increasingly involved in a variety of training programmes, workshops and seminars aimed at school-leavers, school pupils and teachers.

Cold assessments of the accuracy of research results, or of the perceived utility of the training, were not regarded as important, or for that matter, feasible. Our conclusions are therefore often based on cautious, indirect interpretations.

This report attempts to provide a synthesis of the various research undertakings which formed the basis of the Work Orientation and Language Programme. In each successive research undertaking, the insights shifted as results were implemented and tested. Interpretations of research data therefore were based on cumulative research and training experiences and not on static frameworks. Various reports were also written during the course of the project and sections will be partially duplicated here.

The biggest challenge for the researchers on this project was to facilitate a process of active participation on the part of the 'researched' (i.e. black school-leavers) in establishing their needs, and in the design of an adult education bridging programme. The advantage of a research approach based on the two-way flow of communication between researcher and those from whom information is required, is that the process remains dynamic. Interpretations of information gathered can continuously be checked for accuracy. Also, the very process of research results in a greater awareness on the part of the participants (and a more lucid understanding on the part of the researchers) of the issues under investigation.

There are also disadvantages, however. The biggest disadvantage is perhaps that 'hard' empirical data are sacrificed. Interpretations and conclusions derived from information gathered during investigations, are situation-specific and context-bound. In the analysis of the information gathered, however, we have attempted to transcend the particular in order to point to major tendencies in the experiences of black school-leavers and new black recruits in industry.

(iii)

After two and a half years of constant involvement in research and training we have a reasonable sense of confidence that we have arrived at an accurate assessment of the priority needs of black school-leavers. Although we accept responsibility for the present report, a number of people were involved at various stages in the research project and in the training programme. Without them the extent of the research undertakings and the depth of training would not have been possible. Briefly, sincere thanks to Sylvia Magojo (co-researcher and trainer on the project); the Staff and trainers at the Career Information Centre; Megan Seneque; Elda Morran; the steering committee, in particular Professor Keith Chick; and Professor Theodor Hanf from the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute in Freiburg, West Germany, who was consultant on the project.

Finally, we appreciate the financial support given by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in West Germany. Their representative, Gerd Bossen, deserves a special word of appreciation for offering constant support, criticism and challenge.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
PREFACE	(i)
1.0 AN OVERVIEW OF BLACK SCHOOL-LEAVERS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN EMPLOYMENT CONTEXT	2
Historical and Structural Forces	2
Black Advancement	4
2.0 PERCEPTIONS OF MANAGEMENT AND SUPERVISORY STAFF: PROBLEMS NEW BLACK EMPLOYEES EXPERIENCE	7
2.1 IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH EMPLOYERS AND SUPERVISORY STAFF	8
2.1.1 Poor language skills	9
2.1.2 Lack of achievement-orientation	11
2.1.3 Little understanding of the western industrial work ethic	12
2.1.4 Poorly-informed aspirations and expectations	12
2.1.5 Some further trends in the results	13
The problem of culture	13
Discrimination	14
Black advancement	14
2.1.6 Researcher assessment of the perceptions of employers and supervisors	15
As regards the lack of language competence	16
As regard the lack of achievement orientation	17
As regards the lack of an understanding of the western industrial work ethic	17
As regards the problems of poorly-informed aspirations and expectations	18
2.2 VALUATION OF SPECIFIC NON-TECHNICAL SKILLS REQUIRED IN JUNIOR CLERICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE JOBS	22
2.2.1 New black employee valuation of specific skills required	23
2.2.2 Supervisor valuation of specific skills required	25
Rank ordering of items	27
Factor analysis of the checklist items	28
2.2.3 Black trainee awareness of what is required in the work situation	31

	<u>PAGE</u>
3.0 VIEW OF NEW BLACK EMPLOYEES	34
3.1 AN OVERVIEW: SOME PROPOSITIONS	35
3.2 A PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION STUDY IN THE WORKPLACE: THE SOCIAL ADAPTATION OF BLACK RECRUITS IN A MAJOR BANK	38
3.2.1 The induction programme	38
3.2.2 Further observations as an O & M official	40
3.2.3 Interviews with new employees	41
3.2.4 Conclusion	43
3.3 NEW BLACK EMPLOYEES' PERCEPTIONS OF THE WORKPLACE: EXPLORATIONS WITH KELLY'S REPERTORY GRID TECHNIQUE	45
3.3.1 Methodology used	45
3.3.2 Results	46
3.3.3 Discussion	48
3.4 CONCLUSIONS: THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE	50
4.0 AN ASSESSMENT OF THE LANGUAGE NEEDS AND ATTITUDES OF YOUNG URBAN BLACKS	52
4.1 THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT	53
4.2 THE WORK ENVIRONMENT	54
4.3 AN ASSESSMENT OF THE LANGUAGE SKILLS OF BLACK SCHOOL-LEAVERS ON THE WORK ORIENTATION AND LANGUAGE PROGRAMME	57
4.4 AN ASSESSMENT OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF YOUNG URBAN BLACKS TOWARDS ZULU AND ENGLISH	60
4.4.1 Exploratory work on language attitudes	60
4.4.2 A preliminary language attitude survey	61
Situations in which English is used	62
4.5 CONCLUSIONS	66
5.0 BLACK EDUCATION: TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ROLES	69
5.1 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION WITH TEACHERS AND SENIOR PUPILS	71
Perceptions of teachers	71
Perceptions of principals	72
Teachers' perceptions of their role in relation to pupils	73

	<u>PAGE</u>
5.2 INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS: SELF-PERCEPTIONS AND PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ROLE IN PREPARING SENIOR STUDENTS FOR THEIR FUTURE CAREERS	75
Teachers' disenchantment with the education system	75
Teachers' perceptions of constraints on their role as educators	76
Teachers' perceptions of their role and influence on pupils	77
Teachers' perceptions of pupils	78
Teachers' perceptions of the correct teaching approach	80
Teachers' level of satisfaction with their jobs and their career aspirations	80
5.3 TEACHERS' ROLE IN PREPARING SENIOR PUPILS FOR THEIR FUTURE CAREERS: SOME CONCLUSIONS	82
6.0 A SYNTHESIS OF BLACK SCHOOL-LEAVER NEEDS	85
7.0 COMPONENTS OF THE WORK ORIENTATION AND LANGUAGE PROGRAMME	90
7.1 OBJECTIVES AND RATIONALE FOR THE SPECIFIC APPROACH USED IN THE PROGRAMME	91
7.2 PROGRAMME COMPONENTS	98
THE LANGUAGE AND INTERACTION COMPONENT	104
8.0 SOME TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS	109
NOTES	111
BIBLIOGRAPHY	120

	<u>PAGE</u>
APPENDIX I - Checklist No 1	124
- Checklist No 2	
- Results of factor analysis	
APPENDIX 2 - Modified Kelly's Repertory Grid Technique	137
APPENDIX 3 - Teacher questionnaire	145
- Language questionnaire	
APPENDIX 4 - Work Orientation	180
- Personal Development - Understanding of 'Sub-Cultures'	
- Clerical Skills and Office Procedure	
- Group Functioning	
- Self Assessment and Personal Growth	

LIST OF TABLES

<u>TABLE</u>		<u>PAGE</u>
1	DISCREPANCIES EXISTING IN THE VALUATION OF SKILLS BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND NEW BLACK EMPLOYEES	24
2	RANKS, MEANS CO-EFFICIENT AND VARIATION DISTRIBUTION OF CHECKLIST ITEMS	26
3	CONSTRUCT FREQUENCIES	47
4	SITUATIONS IN WHICH ENGLISH IS USED	63
5	SITUATIONS IN WHICH ENGLISH IS PREFERRED BY AT LEAST 1/3 OF THE SAMPLE	63
6	NEEDED IMPROVEMENTS IN BLACK EDUCATION	75
7	ASPIRATIONS OF TEACHERS IF THEY HAD THE OPPORTUNITY	80
8	TEACHER CHOICES OF WAYS THEY WOULD LIKE TO SPEND THEIR MONEY	81

It is a frequent observation in commerce and industry that black school-leavers are, on average, unable to compete effectively with their white, coloured and Indian counterparts in the employment market. The most obvious result is that blacks who have completed their high school education end up either unemployed or underemployed.

It is fully recognised that the reasons for their inability to compete successfully are largely due to certain historical and structural forces in South Africa. However, in order to mount programmes of support for black school-leavers, more specific problems impeding black success in employment required systematic research and observation. To this end the research reported on here was launched.

In this section an overview is given of black school-leavers in the context of future employment, with reference to the present state of black advancement ¹⁾ in commerce and industry. In subsequent sections descriptive and interpretative analyses are given of the research undertaken with regard to:

- 1) employers' perceptions of black school-leaver needs;
- 2) the views of new black employees;
- 3) the language and interactional needs of blacks; and
- 4) the role of black teachers in preparing school-leavers for adult life.

This is followed by a summary of black school-leaver training needs. The report is concluded with a discussion of components of the Work Orientations and Language Programme which formed a substantial part of this project.

1.0 AN OVERVIEW OF BLACK SCHOOL-LEAVERS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN EMPLOYMENT CONTEXT

The average black school-leaver in the South African context enters the industrial work environment with high career aspirations ²⁾ and invariably with unrealistic perceptions of self and the work environment. ³⁾ The reasons for this are socio-political, educational and psychological. Black school-leavers with Senior Certificates are in the vast majority of cases far better educated than their parents. They therefore naturally have employment aspirations outside the ranks of the unskilled labour force which their parents fill. ⁴⁾ More often than not, however, these aspirations remain unrealised.

Historical and Structural Forces

The fact that blacks speak English, the dominant language of the urban industrial environment, as a second language, puts them at an immediate disadvantage. Although English is the medium of instruction in black schools, black teachers themselves are largely functionally incompetent in the medium in which they have to teach. The consequences are obvious. Black school-leavers enter the work environment with rudimentary language skills which almost negate the possibility of competing for appropriate or desired employment.

The root cause of the problem of language fluency as well as the problems of high aspirations and unrealistic perceptions of self and the work environment is State legislation, ⁵⁾ which keeps the different ethnic groups in separate living areas. A black school-leaver who is born in a segregated black residential area and who is taught by poorly-qualified schoolteachers with little or no exposure to anything other than the black social world, learns as a second language a form of English and a set of response norms which are appropriate in what is in effect a highly insular social system. ⁶⁾

There are three potentially powerful resources for competing on equal terms with other school-leavers for viable employment. The first is basic skills which are learned at schools, and the second, competence in the dominant language, which is also partly acquired through a sound school education. A third and less tangible component in the process is a broad understanding of the work environment, which in more privileged groups is acquired indirectly through the home environment and through social contacts with people exposed to the work environment.

Black school-leavers are at a distinct disadvantage when operating in a work environment controlled by the values of the politically and economically dominant white group. They have had no opportunity to learn or absorb the symbols, skills and understanding required for successful adaptation in these white-controlled economic institutions. The task of the new black job entrant in crossing into another sub-culture is therefore not primarily a problem of "traditional" versus "modern" culture. The problem is the mutual alienation of two sub-cultures which is perpetuated by a high degree of formal and informal social segregation in South African society. Blacks entering white-controlled institutions enter as foreigners, but with two major exceptions. Unlike middle-class immigrants, they have had no ongoing contact with the kind of people who run and control first world institutions. They are also not accorded the social concessions made to foreigners, because they are regarded as South Africans, albeit with inferior status.

Furthermore, in addition to the lack of competence in the dominant language and an inadequate working knowledge of the workplace, the average black school-leaver lacks basic skills because of inferior education. The problems inherent in black education have received increasing attention since the upsurge of school riots in 1976 and with the ongoing school unrest in the 1980's.⁷⁾ The purpose of this project was not to analyse or describe the state of black education, but to point to the major consequences of an education system which is designed to be

appropriate to social, economic and political separation of blacks and whites⁸⁾.

Specifically, the prevailing authoritarian teaching mode which permeates the black education system promotes a habit of passive rote learning in pupils which negatively affects their approach and attitude to a highly competitive and discriminatory work environment.

Secondly, because black education is segregated from other education systems, pupils and teachers alike have no comparative yardstick against which to measure their performance. Teachers enjoy a relatively high status in local communities, and pupils have excelled far beyond the educational achievements of their parents. It is therefore to be expected that pupils may have unrealistic expectations and inappropriate strategies for competing in the workplace, which will affect their performance at work.

Black Advancement

In commerce and industry there has been an increasing focus on the problems blacks experience in competing for more elevated positions in the workforce. This has resulted in the establishment of black advancement and affirmative action programmes in many organisations over the past decade. The most cogent reason given for black advancement is the skills shortage faced by South Africa. It is argued that in order to maintain a reasonable economic growth rate, more and more skilled workers will have to be drawn from the black workforce.⁹⁾ Furthermore, external pressures from parent organisations in the U.S.A. and Europe have forced multi-national corporations to restructure their employment and advancement policies.¹⁰⁾ Internal trade union movements have also exerted their pressure on organisations to improve conditions of service and establish equality in the workplace.¹¹⁾ As a result, black advancement has become a central objective of manpower planning and human resource development programmes in many organisations.

There are three basic areas of focus in black advancement programmes:

- 1) the advancement of blacks to management-level positions;
- 2) the recruitment to and advancement of blacks in the technical field; and
- 3) to junior white collar positions.

Until recently the focus has been on the achievement and progress of blacks who fill management-level positions. This was to be expected. Black role models were needed in visible senior positions, not only to pave the way for other blacks in the lower echelons of the employment hierarchy, but also to break down negative stereotypes whites might have of the competence and ability of blacks.

However, a recent report on the activities of United States firms in South Africa who are signatories to the Sullivan principles reveals once again that black advancement in South African industry is not prospering as it should.¹²⁾ Black managers are almost solely in specialised positions which require an ethnic identity such as roles in personnel, labour relations or sales divisions serving the black market. Such "black" advancement as does occur in the more central functions like finance, production and administration is almost always limited to Indians and coloureds.

The expectation that blacks will not prove capable of advancing has not been contradicted and perceptions of black capabilities are much what they were ten years ago or more. The fact that a few blacks occupy very noticeable and identifiable key positions has not changed or challenged fundamental stereotypes. The number of blacks in managerial positions that do not depend on blackness is still remarkably low.

The technical field seems to be the only area in which the employment pattern has changed with regard to blacks, and the most obvious reason for this is a real economic need for more technically-skilled manpower. A less obvious and perhaps

equally important reason for successful black advancement in this field is that job requirements and technical skills needed for successful task performance can be unambiguously specified and assessed. For management-level and clerical and administrative positions this is more difficult.

At management level the socio-political needs for symbols of black advancement are ensuring that at least a few token appointments will continue to be made. These incumbents, however, suffer the additional disadvantage that they are more noticeable, more vulnerable and less experienced than they would be if they could be drawn from and related to a base of growing numbers of successful blacks in clerical and lower level administrative positions. The crucial need, therefore, seems to be for programmes to assist the process of successful black clerical and administrative employment, both in its own right and to underpin advancement to higher levels. This type of employment is traditionally open to non-university-trained school-leavers. Therefore black matriculants seem to be the most profitable target group for supportive programmes.

2.0 PERCEPTIONS OF MANAGEMENT AND SUPERVISORY STAFF: PROBLEMS NEW BLACK EMPLOYEES EXPERIENCE

Two investigations were undertaken with employers and supervisory staff. The first involved in-depth interviews with both black and white personnel officers and managers, and with immediate supervisors of new employees. The aim was to investigate perceptions of those who can be regarded as 'gatekeepers' to the employment and the progress of employees in the workplace. The second study aimed at a more objective and detailed investigation of supervisor evaluations of specific skills required for successful adaptation to and progress in the workplace. Both are reported on in this section.

2.1 IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH EMPLOYERS AND SUPERVISORY STAFF

In an effort to tap the experience of organisations in commerce and industry with regard to black school-leavers entering the job market, interviews were conducted with both black and white recruiting officers and personnel managers (N=30). The major aim of these exploratory interviews was to understand what the perceptions are of the barriers and problems black school-leavers experience in securing and keeping a job.

A second set of interviews was conducted with supervisors (N=10) of black trainees. Here the focus of discussion was narrowed to include three basic themes, namely:

- typical conflict situations between black trainees and white supervisors in the work situation;
- skills and abilities (or otherwise) which black trainees bring to the work situation;
- black advancement and the role of supervisors.

The aim was to gain clearer insights into problem areas existing at the black-white interface in industry from those directly involved in, and to some extent in control of, the work situation. The interviews were all taped, transcribed and then content-analysed.

Below follows a shortened profile of management and supervisory perceptions of the problems new black recruits experience, and the implications and explanations of these problem areas offered by the sample group. Although the sample group comprised both black and white, distinctions will only be drawn where opinions were different.

Our research revealed that employers' reticence to employ black school-leavers is based on the opinion that:

- 1) Blacks lack a trainable base on which to build further training due to their poor and inappropriate educational background. Although a lack of technical and commercial sophistication is to be expected of any school-leaver, blacks are seen as underprepared and lacking in certain basic ('hard') skills which are prerequisites for job performance and in-service training.

- 2) Black culture still carries a traditional orientation which is ill-suited to a western, industrial work setting. The 'cultural gap' between black and white furthermore serves as a major constraint on effective interaction.

The effects of these skill and attitude deficits, as perceived by employers, are elaborated on below:

2.1.1 Poor language skills

Effective communication skills in English, the dominant language in commerce and industry, are seen as essential for successful contact and progress in the workplace. The inability to communicate comfortably in the work setting provides a barrier to the expression of a person's views and ideas, which in turn undermines self-confidence. The consequences of poor language skills, especially in situations which are potentially stressful, and where assertiveness may be required, are far-reaching.

For example, the sample of supervisors interviewed felt that blacks react to whites in the work situation from a position of perceived inferior status. The following were given as examples of how blacks interact with whites:

- they take harsh or abrupt language personally;
- they find it difficult to give instructions to whites;
- they behave towards whites in a deferential way (i.e. "like children");
- they do not relate on a person-to-person level to whites;
- they lack a sense of humour;
- they do not mix socially
- they do not question superiors. It often becomes clear that black employees do not understand instructions, yet they hardly ever query instructions or give feedback in the communication process;
- they struggle to communicate in stressful situations; and
- their speech is often difficult to understand. They speak too slowly and pronounce words wrongly.

Perceptions of ineffectual communication skills therefore include much more than 'correct' or fluent language use. Hofmeyr¹³⁾ in his investigation into problems of black advancement supports this notion, and suggests that far more important than language fluency or grammatical correctness is functional appropriateness.

In general, perceptions of supervisors and employers were that new black employees have minimal control over a range of language functions which will enable them to act flexibly and to communicate effectively in a variety of formal and informal situations. The general experience seems to be one of whites finding communicating with blacks uncomfortable. They feel that blacks do not respond appropriately and do not initiate conversation. The responsibility of keeping the lines of communication open rests with whites. For example, the most common complaint directed at new black recruits is their lack of inquisitiveness (i.e. not asking questions). Reasons given for blacks' inappropriate language behaviour range from the belief (on the part of whites) that the cultural gap between black and

white is such that there is little common ground for discussion, to blacks' lack of confidence and poor knowledge of what is expected in the workplace.¹⁴⁾

2.1.2 Lack of achievement-orientation

In general terms, employers and supervisors feel that new black recruits seem to have an inadequate notion of performance expectations with regard to work-related skills as well as social behaviour in the work situation. Common stereotypes are that blacks are poorly motivated, lack achievement orientation and have a fatalistic attitude towards their jobs. Qualities and skills such as problem-solving, decisiveness, independence and risk-taking are also seen to be lacking in black employee behaviour.

More specifically, the lack of achievement-orientation is perceived to be manifest in the following ways:

Blacks tend to

- take things at face value;
- be slow to adapt to new tasks;
- not show initiative in completing assignments;
- not report errors or problems, and to 'back off' when problems arise; and
- need constant supervision.¹⁵⁾

Reasons given by whites for blacks' lack of achievement-orientation are that the socialization patterns in black culture de-emphasize achievement needs relative to group or communal motives.

The black respondents felt that new black employees feel poorly accepted by their fellow (white) workers and thus tend to associate only with blacks. Affiliation with those who can be trusted is a safer option than competing with those who are perceived to be unaccepting and objectively more powerful.

2.1.3 Little understanding of the western industrial work ethic

The general feeling of employers and supervisors was that the work environment is alien to black school-leavers who have had little or no prior experience of or exposure to western industrial work discipline. In essence, the picture that emerged was that new black employees tend to avoid responsibility, to be unreliable, to fail to demonstrate any sense of urgency in task performance and to lack achievement motivation. Ways in which these are manifest seem to be:

- not getting to work on time;
- abusing sick leave;
- letting domestic problems interfere with work;
- being superstitious;
- managing time poorly.

Although black respondents agreed with the problems mentioned above, they emphasised the fact that new black employees feel alienated from the work environment, a feeling which is exacerbated by a lack of social and job-related skills. It is, therefore, according to them, not an inability to cope with a new culture, but more a problem of operating on uncertain terrain¹⁶⁾ where new black employees feel vulnerable, poorly accepted and unable to assert themselves in ways they see fit.

2.1.4 Poorly-informed aspirations and expectations

Another common complaint directed at black school-leavers is their unrealistic expectations of the workplace. It is generally maintained that they are unwilling to start at the bottom, and that they frequently behave as if 'they have arrived'. They apparently do not realise that their learning has just begun, which often leads to frustration and demotivation.

Black respondents, however, also stressed that the problem does not lie with new black recruits alone. The lack of clearly defined employer expectations leaves new employees uncertain as to what is required. Furthermore, because the most frequent form of training at junior clerical and administrative level is supervised job instruction, the onus is on supervisors to provide the necessary guidance. They, however, are too often unable to assist new black recruits in their particular adaptation problems. New employees thus often find themselves in a sink or swim situation which undermines self-confidence and reduces risk-taking.

Furthermore, both black and white respondents felt that new black employees seem to have a fatalistic attitude towards their jobs, and they do not seem to feel that they have any control over either their progress or their failure.

2.1.5 Some further trends in the results

Although the above problems were consistently referred to, it is worth mentioning a few notable differences in the perceptions of black and white supervisors and employers interviewed:

The problem of culture

Whites interviewed unanimously felt that the cultural background of blacks puts them at a tremendous disadvantage in a work environment that is essentially western industrial and modern. Blacks never mentioned the problem of culture as an inhibiting factor. When this possibility was pointed out to them, the general reaction was that whites are not ready to accept blacks as equals in the work situation and therefore use cultural differences to perpetuate the notion of blacks as underprepared for industry and commerce.

Discrimination

White respondents felt that blacks too often blame discrimination for their inability to cope. The black respondents on the other hand felt that discrimination in the workplace is real and that it makes 'fitting in' very difficult.

Black advancement 17)

White supervisors recognised the need for black advancement and for programmes directed to that end but saw it in very narrow terms. They emphasised that the aims of black advancement programmes should be to "bring the black trainee in line" with western work ethics. They furthermore appreciated the need to bridge the gap between schooling received in the black education system and the demands of the workplace, but tended to place the responsibility for this on educational authorities rather than industry. Briefly, the general feeling was that blacks will only become an integral part of the industrial work environment once what they (whites) see as deficits in skills, knowledge and attitudes are corrected and blacks can adapt to 'white ways' of operating in the work environment. In order to achieve this, the feeling was that great effort has to be put into training new black employees to become effective.

Blacks saw the problem more broadly. They felt that whites are seen as belonging within the structure of an organisation whereas blacks are historically not seen as part and parcel of the organisation, except for constituting the unskilled labour force. A black has to be exceptional in order to be recognised and accepted. Their feeling was that relationships in South Africa are obsessively based on colour. The first thing a black is faced with is the handicap of being black.

2.1.6 Researcher assessment of the perceptions of employers and supervisors

A statement once made about the image employers have of the black newcomer to industry is pertinent in summing up prevailing perceptions:

"Their major problem is that they are not readily employable ... they do not know how to conduct interviews, their expectations are screwed up, they can hardly make themselves understood in the language of business ... and most of all they have totally wrong attitudes and expectations towards business ..."¹⁹⁾

What this rather gloomy picture seems to suggest is that some form of behaviour and attitude change or adaptation is required if the black school-leaver is to be accepted in the world of white-dominated work. For example, on average, black school-leavers are expected to:

- improve their basic language and communication skills;
- be more achievement orientated and take control of and responsibility for their own success or failure;
- minimise affiliation needs;
- adjust their aspirations and expectations to fit the reality of the workplace;
- learn the 'rules' of the industrial work ethic.

While employer and supervisor perceptions of the problems new black employees experience must be taken as valid, the following issues need to be considered when interpreting supervisor and employer perceptions of these problems:

As regards the lack of language competence:

White employers and supervisors show a surprising degree of understanding of the language difficulties experienced by new black employees, but entrenched roles of whites as superior and blacks as subordinate are a major obstacle to language improvement. It was hypothesized at an early stage in the project that on average, black school-leavers will lack the confidence to take risks (an essential strategy in language learning) in communicating with others in the workplace. This lack of risk-taking in the communication process may be manifest in the following ways:

New employees will not

- ask questions or query instructions;
- say when they do not understand something or run into difficulties with a specific task;
- initiate social or work-related discussion.

The result is obvious. New employees will remain passive participants in the communication process in the work environment. The problem of passivity will be compounded by the objective structure of the work situation (superior-subordinate authority relationship), and by the broader socio-political structure where white and black are in an unequal power relationship to each other. The biggest barrier to improved communication between blacks and whites (and, as a consequence, improved language skills of blacks) is thus perceptions of appropriate responses in situations which are invariably clouded by entrenched 'white' and 'black' role behaviour.

If language is seen as the major means of ordering and dealing with the environment, it can be assumed that the lack of language fluency in the dominant language will serve as a major inhibiting factor in an individual's development in the work process. Intervention will therefore have to address the role of language, both as an object and as a vehicle. As an object, language is important because it is self-evident that communication skills

will greatly enhance the individual's ability to adjust to and develop in the work environment. As a vehicle, language skills are important as a means of overcoming barriers that are not created by language difficulties per se.

As regards the lack of achievement orientation:

While a lack of achievement orientation possibly hinders progress in the workplace, it is evident from preliminary data reported on above that black employees will not develop such an orientation unless they have a sense of individual control over their immediate environment. Without this control, to whatever degree, it is probable that new black employees will remain fatalistic, poorly motivated and inclined to strengthen affiliation ties.

Research data elsewhere²⁰⁾, furthermore suggests that given the right conditions of participation within a responsive organisation, many blacks will show patterns of achievement orientation similar to their white colleagues.

As regards the lack of an understanding of the western industrial work ethic:

Reasons given for the new black employee's lack of knowledge of western industrial work principles seem to be closely bound up with what whites perceive as a cultural gulf between black township life and the world of white-dominated work in urban centres. While cultural differences undoubtedly exist and exert an influence on job performance and behaviour at work,²¹⁾ it was decided early on in this project that to regard cultural differences as a major cause of adaptation problems is a loose generalisation which obscures more relevant alternative factors. For example, the problem of distinguishing between the effects of culture and such variables as education, access to power structures, and a number of related socio-economic factors has been pointed out elsewhere.²²⁾

At this stage it is perhaps necessary to clarify the position taken in this project with regard to the importance and meaning of culture. Firstly, consideration of culture cannot be avoided in a context where the direct concern is with the problem of people working together but belonging to distinctly different groups. Secondly, when the term culture or sub-culture is used in this report, it is referring to the consequence of social separation and of black residential and social ghettos in which attitudes and orientations have evolved on the margin of white urban society. The dynamism of culture is furthermore recognised and we agree with Vilakazi²³⁾ that "while we should not repudiate African cultures and traditions, we certainly do not need to make sacred cows of them". Moreover, we support his view that "cultures are universal products of man and that any one culture can enrich itself and enhance its potential for growth if it borrows freely from others and shuns the way of cultural purity."

As regards the problems of poorly-informed aspirations and expectations:

Although the causes of unrealistic aspirations within and unrealistic expectations of the workplace are understandable, a closer analysis of how this may affect attitudes towards work, and behaviour in the workplace, must consider certain contradictions.

On the one hand school-leavers have to work because of economic necessity. Their participation in the work process may therefore be a non-reflective process of 'being there' - expectations and aspirations will be in the background. On the other hand it is to be expected that black school-leavers will have expectations and aspirations of an improved quality of life, which necessitates achievement and progress at work.

With the constraints of inferior and inappropriate social and work-related skills, and a concomitantly low level of self-confidence and self-worth, immediate expectations of the workplace are likely to become negative. This will result in blacks' withdrawal from competition, and their alienation from the day to day work process. Black employees will therefore appear fatalistic and passive. However, long-term aspirations may remain high and perhaps unrealistic and may even become more prominent in the minds of new black employees who are struggling to adapt, to be accepted, and to make progress in the workplace.

The issue of poorly informed aspirations and expectations may thus be a question of immediate expectations dropping as a result of a combination of the need to work, and the day-to-day experiences of new black employees. It is highly likely, however, that long-term aspirations will remain high and become more prominent in the hope of self-advancement.

In conclusion, the needs identified and the explanations offered by employers and supervisors are presumably based on generalisations which stem from job-situated experience and have to be taken as valid. In interpreting employer perceptions, however, three powerful additional factors have to be taken into consideration:

- The small number of blacks in white collar positions. In the Durban metropolitan area where this project was situated, there are still very few African employees in junior white collar positions. The problem of an inadequate sample of new black recruits on which to base perceptions is exacerbated by State legislation which enforces social segregation of the different ethnic groups, thereby causing mutual unfamiliarity with other groups and the strengthening of stereotypes which already exist. Furthermore, such a minority group as new black employees in white collar positions may have very little opportunity or skill to challenge some of the negative stereotypes the dominant white

group has of them when the two groups meet in the workplace. The result is that prior perceptions are likely to be reinforced and to remain unchallenged if new black recruits do not (or cannot) demonstrate their capabilities.

- The relatively low status of black culture. By common recognition in commerce and industry (and in white society at large) the 'modern', 'western', 'industrial' culture which is closely associated with white culture, is superior. The implication for interaction between black and white in the workplace is that both have for so long worked from a premise of superior and subordinate that new black employees may never be viewed in terms of what they have to offer, but may be regarded as deficient in terms of white norms and standards.

- Perceptions are based on group ideologies. In general, black and white respondents held similar views about the problems new black employees experience in the workplace. There were a few differences, especially in their interpretation of the reasons for inadequate social and work-related skills. The danger involved in taking their perceptions at face value, however, is that both views stem from different ideological (and practical) premises. A programme of intervention cannot be based on articulated perceptions alone.

However, it is possible to argue from the preliminary data presented above that both new black employees and employers/supervisors in commerce and industry will have to come to terms with demands placed on them when two sub-cultures meet in a situation of differing perceptions, expectations, skills and beliefs about industrial and commercial discipline and work

relations. It would seem that such an awareness, especially on the part of management and people in supervisory level positions, would be an important prerequisite for new black employees' adjustment to and progress in the workplace.

2.2 VALUATION OF SPECIFIC NON-TECHNICAL SKILLS REQUIRED IN JUNIOR CLERICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE JOBS

In order to arrive at more specific insights into what is required for successful job performance, the data derived from the interviews with employers and supervisors were extended in a further study which is reported on in this section. The intention was to move beyond articulated perceptions of needs as a basis for intervention. It was mentioned before that such perceptions are invariably biased because they stem from a particular ideological premise. Another related danger of basing intervention on articulated perceptions of needs is that these perceptions stem from subjective appraisals of experienced and/or anticipated problems in the work setting. This may result in intervention providing school-leavers with 'skills' which at face value will help them to adapt more readily to the demands and expectations of employers, but may be totally inadequate as an extension of their educational process.

A more rigorous and objective appraisal of the difficulties new black employees experience in the work setting was therefore necessary. A factor which further complicates an objective appraisal of needs is that skills required for junior white collar clerical and administrative positions are varied and are not easily specifiable. A checklist which included a variety of specific but non-technical skills which may be required for task performance, was believed to be an appropriate and objective tool for assessing the criteria used in evaluating employees.

Items included in the checklist were based on data gathered from the interviews with employers and supervisors reported on in the previous section, as well as a literature search of problems experienced in black advancement in South Africa. Two checklists were used. The aim of the first was to establish the extent to which the **average** black school-leaver valued each of the various skills. These priorities were then compared with

the attitudes of employers. The aim of the second checklist was to assess the priorities supervisors in particular give to specific skills all new employees may need in order to perform adequately at work.

Interviews to guide the interpretation of the results from the checklists were conducted with supervisors (N=25) and 10 black, 10 white and 10 Indian employees (N=30). The results derived from the checklists are reported on below.

2.2.1 New black employee valuation of specific skills required

A total of 48 subjects responded to the first checklist, ²⁴⁾ 14 of whom were chosen as representative of industrial and commercial employers; the rest were black school-leavers and new black employees. Employers were used as a criterion group against which to measure degrees of values attached to the different skills.

The items used in the checklist were based on five categories of attributes or skills which may facilitate successful adaptation in the work situation, namely: personal attributes; communication skills; knowledge of the western industrial work ethic; cognitive skills and presentation. Although responses of new black employees were on the whole congruent with those of the criterion group, some discrepancies are of interest ²⁵⁾ (see Table 1 below).

TABLE 1: DISCREPANCIES EXISTING IN THE VALUATION OF SKILLS
BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND NEW BLACK EMPLOYEES
(IDENTIFIED AMONG 50 ITEM COMPARISONS)

Item	New black employees	Employers (criterion group)
	%	%
to be firm in decision-making	54	21
to be able to resolve conflicts	9	78
to be honest	91	71
to mix socially	54	29
to think of others first	27	0
to get across real meaning	73	100
to do what you are told	64	21
to accept responsibility	64	93
to act like a father to people under you	37	0
to keep the future in mind	64	85

If it is assumed that the selected criterion group is representative of people who know what is required to succeed, the observed differences provide some indication of where training could be beneficial.

The most marked discrepancy amongst these items was the ability to resolve conflicts - a skill assigned a very low priority by black employees but a very high priority by employers. There are at least two possible explanations as to why young black employees undervalue the importance of resolving conflict in the workplace. One explanation might be that their cultural disposition militates against them asserting themselves in conflict situations. People-orientation and the importance of a good working atmosphere may overshadow the importance of resolving conflicts. The concept of 'ubuntu' (the Zulu expression for 'humanity') perhaps influences behaviour to the extent of preference being given to a positive working relationship with people at the expense of confrontation. This does not suggest that blacks do not believe in the importance of conflict resolution. It may suggest, however, that they will not be able to cope with conflict if a sense of people-affiliation and a good working atmosphere are absent.

A more probable explanation may be that new black employees who experience a situation of unequal power relations with other employees and white supervisors will avoid conflict or attempting to resolve conflict because the short-term rewards for them as individuals will be perceived to be minimal, if not non-existent.

Further discrepancies in employers' and black employees' valuation of what might be labelled as 'social skills' are noteworthy: black employees highly valued the ability to mix socially, to think of others first and to act like a father figure. Employers regarded these as unimportant. It is also interesting to note the discrepancy between employers' and new black employees' valuation of the ability to follow instructions. New employees, who are perhaps more realistic because they are at the receiving end of 'doing as they are told', regarded this as an important skill; employers did not.

On average, however, the results from this checklist seem to suggest that new black employees know what is required in a work environment which is dominated by whites and western industrial work values.

2.2.2 Supervisor valuation of specific skills required

In order to establish the criteria supervisors use to evaluate junior staff and their performance at work, a second checklist²⁶⁾ was designed on the basis of previous research data. The two checklists contain essentially the same categories of items.

Immediate supervisors (N=160) of new clerical and administrative employees in a variety of organisations in the Durban metropolitan region responded to the checklist. Once again, values had to be assigned to each item on the basis of what they considered important characteristics for all new employees. The data from the checklist were analysed by computer and mean scores were obtained from each item. Each item was then ranked for importance in terms of the mean. The tabulated results are given below (See Table 2).

TABLE 2: RANKS, MEANS CO-EFFICIENT AND VARIATION DISTRIBUTION OF CHECKLIST ITEMS

ITEM		RANK	MEAN	CV* (%)
8	To be honest and have integrity	1	9.03	16
20	To work accurately	2	9.03	15
9	To understand exactly what is required before proceeding	3	8.81	17
3	To be willing to put in extra effort in order to complete a task	4	8.61	18
42	To be clear and precise when communicating with others	5	8.54	19
32	To understand and use information given	6	8.45	18
34	To respect company property and time	7	8.41	22
38	To be able to work under pressure	8	8.36	21
16	To cope with responsibility	9	8.35	21
24	To work without constant supervision	9	8.35	19
27	To be punctual	11	8.30	23
12	To work for the benefit of the team	12	8.26	21
30	To be eager to work	13	8.24	21
25	To be willing to learn from others	14	8.16	20
45	To be quick and responsive to requests	15	8.10	21
40	To ask questions when appropriate	16	8.00	22
22	To show respect for superiors	17	7.86	23
7	To work neatly and tidily	18	7.86	22
37	To remain calm when things go wrong	19	7.81	25
2	To have good manners	20	7.81	26
19	To discuss work-related problems	21	7.73	24
26	To be quick to grasp or learn new tasks and situations	22	7.70	21
31	To have good listening skills	23	7.69	25
44	To be able to look ahead and see the necessary steps towards a goal	24	7.56	23
33	To work for personal advancement	25	7.54	27
6	To have a flexible approach to doing things	26	7.44	24
10	To consider all options before acting	26	7.44	27
14	To understand how specific tasks fit into the overall running of the organisation	28	7.36	28
13	To have good written English	29	7.29	27
41	To have a good command of spoken English	30	7.24	29
23	To offer suggestions and new ideas	31	7.12	28
43	To appreciate supervisors' efforts	32	7.03	33
15	To listen and use suggestions of others	33	6.81	29
11	To be sensitive to others' feelings	34	6.74	30
21	To be well-groomed	35	6.73	31
28	To be well-qualified	36	6.58	32
29	To be bright and cheerful	37	6.58	32
39	To be content to start at the bottom	37	6.58	37
1	To be able to resolve personality conflicts	39	6.55	35
17	To be sociable and easy to get on with	40	6.46	33
18	To have a sense of humour	41	6.27	36
4	To be well-spoken and have a good accent	42	6.03	38
5	To be clever	43	5.51	36
35	To be quiet and self-contained	44	4.93	49
36	To follow instructions without question	45	4.22	64

N.B. : The relative position of items appearing in the above table with the same mean but different rank was determined by the original mean score which was obtained to four decimal places.

* Co-efficient of Variation Distribution

In the interpretation of the above results it is important to bear in mind that supervisors assigned values to each item on the basis of what they consider important characteristics for all new clerical/administrative employees. The intention was specifically to attempt an objective assessment of criteria used in supervisors' subjective evaluation of new employee behaviour. In the discussion, however, only points of interest in terms of previous analysis of new black employee needs will be emphasised.

Rank ordering of items

The importance of some items in terms of their rank order position is noteworthy. For example, the ability to resolve personality conflicts ranked 39th - a relatively low ranking, especially in the light of results obtained from the first checklist reported on above (2.2.1). Other attributes or skills required for successful job performance which received surprisingly low rankings are:

- to have good listening skills (23);
- to work for personal advancement (25);
- to have a flexible approach to doing things (26);
- to understand how specific tasks fit into the overall running of an organisation (28);
- to offer suggestions and new ideas (30);
- to have a good command of English (31);
- to be sensitive to others' feelings (34);
- to be content to start at the bottom (37);
- to be sociable and easy to get on with (40);
- to have a sense of humour (41);
- to be well-spoken and have a good accent (42).

All of the above have in some form appeared as perceptions of skills or attributes which are lacking in new black employees. There could be at least two possible explanations for the discrepancy between these results and those reported elsewhere.

1. New employees in general have few conflicts to resolve, have a good command of English, initiate conversations, are compliant, have a sense of humour and are sociable. Supervisors are therefore not aware of the importance of such skills or attributes, because they are not lacking in the average new employee.
2. These skills are not of primary importance in new employees' behaviour and their approach to task performance. However, when they are absent, which seems to be the case with new black employees on average, employees may be prevented from displaying or developing skills which are assumed to be present and for which they are employed.

Factor analysis of the checklist items

The data were also factor analysed in order to determine general categories of specific clerical employee characteristics and their relative importance. An appropriate "cut-off" point for the number of factors generated was determined at 6 and Varimax and Oblique factor analyses were then performed with this specified limit of 6 factors. Both produced essentially similar results.

In the following list, Factors 4 and 5 are stated separately although they were derived as one single factor from the Varimax factor rotation. A separation of the two groups of constituent items was made in order to make the content as specific as possible.

In order of their contribution to the overall variance, the following factors emerged from the analysis:

- Factor 1: Role responsibility and coping;
2: Decisiveness and tenacity;
3: Conformity and propriety;
4: Flexibility;
5: Language, Communication and Presentation;
6: Interactional facility.

Two items, namely, "To be honest and have integrity" and "To be willing to learn from others" did not appear at a meaningful level in any of the 6 factors generated. Since both items had consistently high scores²⁸⁾, their poor loading in the factors is possibly explained by the fact that the clustering of very high ratings on both affected their interaction with other items. In other words, they were saturated variables. However, the importance of the factors generated, and their relative independence, allows for them to be considered as important criteria nevertheless.

The six criteria which emerged from this analysis were meaningful in relation to previous information gathered about employer and supervisor perceptions of the problems black school-leavers experience in adjusting to the work environment. For example, some of the specified problems black employees seem to experience in behaviour and task performance can be directly related to these factors as well as indirectly to the behaviour deficits discussed in Section 2.1.

In general, employers and supervisors maintain that black employees

- lack responsibility and struggle to cope with tasks independently;
- are not willing to 'start at the bottom' (i e to learn from others);
- experience difficulties in problem-solving and tend to become fatalistic towards their jobs;
- either over-conform or become too assertive (i e do not find a happy medium between conforming and asserting);
- are not flexible;
- have poor language skills; and
- struggle to interact effectively.

The underlying reasons given for these problems fall into the well-worn areas of black employees demonstrating

- a lack of achievement orientation;
- strong affiliation needs due to their people-orientation;
- unrealistic aspirations and expectations of the workplace;
- a lack of knowledge of the western industrial work ethic due to their cultural disposition.

In a further attempt to assess whether black school-leavers are aware of expected behaviour at work, case studies were developed around the criteria (factors) supervisors appear to use in assessing new employees. They were then used in the Work Orientation and Language Programme. Responses of trainees to these case studies are discussed below.

2.2.3 Black trainee awareness of what is required
in the work situation

Thirteen black trainees (N=13) on the second Work Orientation and Language Programme responded to the case studies. The aim was to assess early in the programme the level of black trainee understanding of expected behaviour norms at work. Trainees had to respond in writing to problem situations depicted in the case studies. Their responses were then analysed and aspects of interpretation which were unclear were discussed with the group as a whole.

An earlier notion that black employees, on average, know what performance expectations at work are, was confirmed. Trainees on the whole responded appropriately in terms of supervisor expectations. For example, they indicated the importance of such skills and approaches as acting responsibly; working independently; showing a willingness to learn from others; persevering with problem-solving; being actively involved in the work process; positively asserting themselves by expressing their views; being flexible; and actively communicating with others at work.

The initial intention with the case studies was to use them as a tool for monitoring trainee progress in terms of their awareness of appropriate behaviour in a variety of possible situations at work. It was anticipated that the work orientation training could be directed at the gaps in knowledge trainees would reveal in their responses to the case studies. Their responses were, however, congruent with supervisor expectations, and a monitoring device for specific progress in terms of changed attitudes was therefore not regarded as important.

However, one of the problems with the type of investigation described above is that it does not offer explanations of discrepancies observed between articulated attitudes and actual behaviour. Why, for example, do black school-leavers seem to

value expected behaviour norms and yet fail to act on these attitudes once they are employed?

An important insight into the attitude-behaviour discrepancy was gained during the actual training experience of the researcher on the Work Orientation and Language Programme. The situation which led to the potentially significant insight was a stressful encounter between the trainer/researcher and the trainees, which had to be resolved. The trainer's reaction to the situation was to confront trainees in what was perhaps an aggressive manner. The trainees' reaction tended to be one of withdrawal, which allows any (white) trainer/supervisor to confirm commonly-held stereotypes about blacks.

An advantage that trainers have over supervisors (who can be regarded as informal trainers at work) is that experiences of participants can be used as teaching material and misinformation can be cleared up. In the conflict situation referred to here this was attempted. It took the remainder of a 4-hour session to resolve the conflict and about two weeks to rebuild the trust relationship which had existed between the trainer and the trainees prior to the conflict. Trainees maintained that the trainer had changed her attitude towards them as blacks and had reacted in an authoritarian and aggressive manner. When asked why they did not challenge the trainer, the response was that it would not have changed the way they felt about the situation.

The trainees' reticence to confront the trainer for what they believed was unfair treatment has to be interpreted cautiously. Research on this project clearly indicated that black school-leavers know what is expected, but also that they do not seem to act positively on this knowledge. On the basis of the training experience outlined above it was postulated that one of the major variables preventing positive action on the part of blacks is their inability to handle conflict, or to prevent possible conflict situations, with people or groups they perceive to be more powerful than themselves.

In the next section the perceptions and experiences of new black employees are described and analysed, and the attitude-behaviour problem is pursued in the interpretation of research results.

3.0 VIEWS OF NEW BLACK EMPLOYEES

Research among black school-leavers and new employees was varied and included informal discussions and in-depth interviews, an observation study in the workplace, a large-scale investigation into new employees' perceptions of the workplace, and experimentation and observation during the running of two Work Orientation and Language Programmes. In this section a description will be given of information gathered.

3.1 AN OVERVIEW: SOME PROPOSITIONS

Our investigation into the perceptions employers and supervisors have of the problems new black employees experience in adjusting to and progressing in the workplace led to the following tentative conclusions about black school-leavers entering the employment market:

- Given the fact of inferior education, poor language skills and the social isolation and alienation of township life, it is to be expected that black school-leavers will be at a distinct disadvantage in competing for employment and, once employed, in successfully adjusting to and progressing in the workplace.

It will be recalled that the perceptions of employers and supervisors suggest that deficits in black performance exist in the following areas:

- effective language and communication skills;
- achievement orientation and responsibility for own actions;
- knowledge of the western, industrial work ethic;
- realistic aspirations and expectations of the workplace and for individual advancement.

- However, in the light of the investigations undertaken it also became clear that there are perhaps powerful additional factors which inhibit new black employees from improving their skills and from performing adequately in the workplace.

It is understandable that certain specific problems of adaptation and task performance exist where the background of blacks has left them underprepared for the demands of the urban industrial workplace. It is, however, surprising that blacks make very little or no progress once exposed to the work process. It would be over-simplistic to suggest that this is due to 'traditional' culture, or the lack of a 'trainable

base ²⁹⁾. In this regard it was postulated that the major problems experienced by new black employees are exacerbated in the process of interaction between black and white in the workplace.

It is often claimed that black employees approach the work situation with a high social orientation and the need for trust and acceptance. It is argued therefore, that they fail to demonstrate an achievement orientation ³⁰⁾. This would be one of the few salient cultural differences between blacks and whites if it were to be established beyond doubt. In this regard our research revealed that perhaps the one outstanding exception to blacks' understanding of what is required at work relates to the importance of dealing with conflict. Indeed, it might well be suggested that it is this aversion to conflict, which is perhaps partly derived from a legacy of enforced deferential behaviour, that contributes to employers' views of blacks as having serious basic skills deficits. Instead of venturing to demonstrate their ability and equality, blacks may prefer to hide behind a 'deficit facade' and pretend inferiority in order to avoid the risk of crisis and conflict with an objectively more powerful group.

- However, in most respects new black employees and school-leavers revealed that they know what is required of them in a work environment that is dominated by western industrial values.

This knowledge, however, is not demonstrated in work-related behaviour. Two possibilities exist in this regard. Firstly, they may simply be articulating norms they have become aware of without internalising them. The other possibility is that they do not have the social power, confidence or opportunity necessary to implement this knowledge.

Obviously, the problem is one of black employees implementing and translating appropriate, broad, perhaps superficial, knowledge of requirements into workplace responses. This has to be juxtaposed with whites emphasizing that blacks will only become an integral part of the work setting when they can adapt to 'white ways' of operating in the work environment.

The most prominent and obvious conclusion derived from the research was therefore that a fairly serious problem exists in the adaptation of blacks to the workplace.

Ineffective communication between new black employees and their supervisors and fellow workers has led to a situation where employers are preoccupied with the notion of 'skills deficits'. This notion is oversimplistic and may have become a blanket statement which explains blacks' inability to adapt to and make progress in the workplace.

The research undertaken with junior black employees is reported on below. An ongoing aim was to analyse more closely barriers which prevent blacks from acting on the knowledge they seem to have of what is expected at work.

3.2 A PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION STUDY IN THE WORKPLACE; THE SOCIAL ADAPTATION OF BLACK RECRUITS IN A MAJOR BANK ³¹⁾

The most important aim of the observation study was to develop a clearer understanding of the socio-psychological aspects influencing employee behaviour in interactional settings, and to identify styles of interaction that are best able to facilitate successful social and task-related adaptation of new black employees in the work situation.

The study was undertaken in three phases:

- Participation as a new employee in a one-week induction programme;
- Observation of interaction as an Organisations and Methods (O & M) official;
- Interviews with new employees at work.

Analysis of the impressions gathered during the different phases was done collectively, and will in brief be reported here. It is important to point out that the data collected during this research period were based on observable events, as this is obviously the only way of obtaining insights into subjective experiences of new employees. Therefore, although behaviour has been analysed in terms of concrete events, the interpretation must of necessity be subtle, intuitive and take account of symbolic aspects of the situations studied.

3.2.1 The induction programme

New employees are sent on the induction programme after they have been in the bank for a few months. They, therefore, have a shared aim of learning more about the bank and sharing their experiences with others in similar positions. Group affiliation needs are understandably very powerful, and minimise individual differences of race, age and sex. It was postulated, however, that these differences are only minimised if the individuals concerned conform to group norms.

The types of adaptation required of new employees during their first in-service training experience are briefly,

- adapting to the training group;
- adapting to training and assessment;
- socialising within the work/training setting;
- adapting to appraisal.³²⁾

In sum, new employees on an induction course adapt their behaviour to that dictated by the group. An important sacrifice the individual may have to make at this stage is to relinquish values and attitudes which might be in conflict with group behaviour. Although this first phase of adaptation to group norms apparently makes very few overt demands on new employees, it may, as is discussed later, become a source of disorientation and alienation for those who are different, or are perceived to be different. At this stage the individual will not, or cannot, venture to indicate his or her uniqueness because group membership is important and apparently gives the new employee a much-needed sense of security.

It was interesting, however, to note that socialisation at work seems to operate on at least two levels. At the one level it is a rather superficial exchange of information about self in the framework of work-related issues. At the second level it entails the formation of trust and close friendship ties. This obviously results in a double process, i.e. both parties involved must initiate and confirm intentions of becoming friends. It was noticeable that at this level sex and race differences do play a part.

For example, the Indian women on this course spent their lunch hour together, the whites theirs, and the only African spent his alone. It took considerable subtle persuasion on the part of the researcher to share these lunch hours with the different close circles of friends. For instance, it took the researcher 4 days to persuade the African man to invite her to accompany him to feed pigeons in a nearby park. And still, the short session

together revealed very little. After all, the contact was based on one party having different intentions - i.e. to learn more about blacks. Perhaps this was subconsciously sensed.

The implications for black employees are clear: blacks, who are by far in the minority in this employment bracket, do not benefit from the moral support of being a major, or at least substantial, employee group. They are therefore invariably isolated from informal information networks at work.

Superficially, however, the impression gained during this first phase is that blacks adapt and adjust to training and induction as well as their white and Indian counterparts.

3.2.2 Further observations as an O & M official

The general impression gained from the second phase of research was that people do not work in teams but in relays. Observable interaction between employees is minimal. Each individual has a task to complete, and the task is moved on to the next individual in the same department, or from one department to the next. The pressure is therefore on the individual not to delay the next person's (or the next department's) work. The potential for conflict in such a context is clear.

Furthermore, whereas group affiliation was a powerful force affecting interaction in the training centre, this was strikingly absent in the workplace. The implications of the lack of group support in a medium to large organisation are that new employees will most probably feel very isolated and intimidated by the newness and strangeness of their new place of work, and that this feeling will be more intensely felt by new black employees. Support for new employees does not come from group affiliation and must be sought elsewhere.

3.2.3 Interviews with new employees

The aim of the interviews with new employees from all ethnic groups was to investigate their perceptions of problems of adaptation. A branch in the Durban region with employees from all ethnic groups was chosen for the interviews, and in-depth interviews with 15 junior employees were conducted. Further interviews in this and other branches were also conducted with more senior black employees who had been in the bank for a number of years.

The uniformity of responses from new employees was remarkable. Briefly, all new employees were concerned that they would not be able to cope with the specific tasks given to them. They also hoped that other employees would be helpful and friendly and that there would be people they could relate to.

Africans, more specifically, were concerned that they would be discriminated against. Initially they also felt as if everybody was watching them. Without exception they said, however, that everybody was very kind and helpful when they started work.

White and Indian employees said that they found their work experience and relating to others at work a strain until they made a friend. New black employees, however, seemed to be so elated at the lack of overt discrimination at work that becoming part of the work group took lower priority initially.

As regards task performance, the biggest adaptation for new employees seems to lie in becoming more self reliant and responsible. They also have to be prepared to listen to and learn from their seniors and those they are directly responsible to.

New employees soon have to move out of the early stages of superficial adjustment in order to become part of the workgroup. A strategy which seems to be used successfully by most new

employees is the forming of close friendships and peer relations with individuals who are socially similar and who have already been accepted by the group.

For blacks this form of social support is lacking. Although they are initially absorbed by the group, later on they seem to be unsuccessful in developing a meaningful network of support within the group. As was suggested earlier, the initial adjustment, although superficially successful, may become a source of disorientation and alienation, because it takes the form of overconformity to group expectations. This limits opportunities for them to express their individual personality traits. Socially they have little to offer, as it were. They are unable, in a positive manner, to establish a clear personal, social or cultural identity for themselves in the workplace.

It is suggested that in this way new black employees, while they accept the norms of the dominant group, do so in such a way as to deny themselves access to their own background of social skills and knowledge. They are therefore operating in a vacuum.

Personal strain is created when, on the one hand the individual wants to be recognised for what he or she is, and on the other hand, wants to experience a sense of belonging. The individual, however, needs to be part of the informal networks operating at work in order to gain access to the subtle meanings of dominant group behaviour.

In order to get in touch with the thoughts and sentiments of individuals within the dominant group, this obviously necessitates the forming of close friendships with individuals who have already been accepted by the group (informal coaches). This involves a certain amount of risk, however: to form a relationship of trust, both parties involved must initiate and confirm their intentions of becoming friends. Furthermore, for a black employee to initiate friendship with a person or people from an objectively more powerful group is difficult. A safer

solution may be to take on a passive stance and wait for people from the dominant group to initiate the first move.

An important insight into a 'coping' strategy used by blacks came from discussions with more senior blacks in the bank. They indeed feel the strain of discrimination. In their view they are denied opportunities for advancement, and are held back in certain departments only to serve the needs of the bank.³³⁾ It is interesting to note, however, that blacks may misread the situation and resort to large-scale strategies to overcome what they interpret as discrimination. For example, it was noticeable that the majority of blacks interviewed are enrolled for a degree, or are in the process of studying for their bankers' diplomas. It may be that after failing to gain an understanding of the behaviour patterns (thought and action) of the dominant group, they opt for what they consider to be a fool-proof method of succeeding.

3.2.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, then, the basic needs of new black employees, as revealed by the research reported on above, can be outlined as follows:

- To develop positive adaptability to a variety of interactional settings, and, in the process, to learn more about the subtle meanings of personal behaviour as well as the behaviour of those who are, or appear to be, different.
- To develop a repertoire of responses which will help black employees to obtain supportive help when they encounter difficulties in task-performance.
- In the absence of formal mentors, or until satisfactory supportive relationships are formed, both new employees and immediate supervisors need to become accustomed to discussing work problems openly.

The observation study therefore confirmed our view that an important part of the answer to problems blacks experience in adjusting to and progressing in the workplaces lies in a single strategy. This strategy, very simply stated, should aim at increasing the individual's effectiveness in a variety of interactional situations. The research thus far suggests that interactional skills will enable black recruits to cope better with race stereotyping, allow them to seek the practical guidance they need from among colleagues and supervisors, and give them the resources to begin creating a more positive image of themselves as coping and competent individuals in the workplace.

3.3 NEW BLACK EMPLOYEES' PERCEPTIONS OF THE WORKPLACE: EXPLORATIONS WITH KELLY'S REPERTORY GRID TECHNIQUE

In order to explore more objectively the factors which may affect behaviour and interaction at work, the Kelly's Repertory Grid Technique was used.³⁴⁾ The technique is based on Kelly's Personal Construct Theory³⁵⁾ which addresses itself to the relationship between mental constructs and behaviour. The technique attempts to understand the process whereby people make sense of their environment, and provides a basis for understanding how an individual's perceptions can affect behaviour.

The aim of this research undertaking was therefore to explore new employees' perceptions of the workplace, as reflected by the constructs used in the completion of a variety of exercises incorporated in the technique. It was anticipated that deductions could then be made as to possible motivating forces which determine behaviour.

To suit this specific study, the exercises were modified to incorporate only work-related people and issues.³⁶⁾

3.3.1 Methodology used

Clerical and administrative employees³⁷⁾ with at least one year work experience (and not more than five) in a variety of organisations in the Durban region completed the exercises incorporated in the modified Kelly Repertory Grid technique. This involved the following exercises: First, respondents had to identify nine people (they were the tenth) from work who affect the way they feel and behave. The second exercise involved the identification of differences (contrasts) and similarities (constructs) between these role figures. Each individual, including the respondent, was then rated according to the constructs. Thirdly, in order to validate positive constructs, respondents chose people from the role figures whom they regarded

as competent, and gave reasons for their choices. They then expressed their feelings about the role figures, and finally ranked (given) positive and negative feelings experienced during a working day.

The advantage of this inductive method of inquiry is that it overcomes the problem of the researcher imposing preconceived ideas upon the respondents of important criteria for evaluating new employee perceptions of the workplace. Furthermore, it establishes which personal constructs of the workplace are important to new employees.

This technique complicates analysis because it allows individuals to identify their own set of constructs. In order to amalgamate individual responses and to explain any group differences which may exist, a variety of statistical analyses were performed.³⁸⁾

For the purposes of this report, however, only the results derived from the identification of salient constructs will be discussed.

3.3.2 Results

Of the 32 construct categories, the following were mentioned most often by the respondents (see Table 3):

TABLE 3: CONSTRUCT FREQUENCIES

Blacks (N = 100)		
	No. of times mentioned	% of total mentioned
Social supportiveness	177	26
Competence at work	67	10
Honesty	49	7
Social Integration	46	7
Manners and Demeanour	44	6
Accommodation of others	43	6
Goal Orientation	34	5
Open-Mindedness	25	4
Work Guidance	23	3
Responsibility - Maturity	21	3
Confidence	21	3

Whites and Indians (N = 99)		
	No. of times mentioned	% of total mentioned
Competence at work	115	20
Accommodation of others	111	19
Social Integration	102	18
Social Supportiveness	60	10
Manners and Demeanour	54	9
Authoritativeness	35	6
Evenness and Consistency	31	5
Honesty	24	4
Responsibility - Maturity	24	4
Sense of Humour	22	4

It is interesting to note that of the top ten constructs mentioned by the black sample, the construct 'social supportiveness' was associated with role figures in the workplace 26 percent of the time, 15 percent higher than the second most important construct.³⁹⁾ The white and Indian group, on the other hand, had three key constructs, i.e. 'competence at work', 'accommodation of others', and 'social integration'. The constructs 'authoritativeness', 'evenness and consistency' and 'sense of humour' did not appear among the top ten constructs of the black sample. On the other hand, the constructs 'goal orientation', 'open-mindedness', 'work guidance' and 'confidence', appearing in the top constructs of the black sample, did not appear as important constructs for the white group.

Thus, although an initial postulation that new employees would have similar conceptions of the workplace was partially borne out, important different emphases emerged.

3.3.3 Discussion

At first glance the results above seem to support the notion referred to earlier, and which is often mentioned in the literature on black advancement, that blacks fail to demonstrate an achievement orientation due to their strong affiliation needs.⁴⁰⁾ Yet, on closer analysis there appears to be an alternate explanation. For example, the participant observation study (discussed in the previous section) established that all new employees of any race rely heavily on social support (i.e. they have strong affiliation needs) in their adaptation to a new work environment. It was also pointed out that a strategy used successfully in securing support seems to be the forming of close friendships and peer relations with individuals who are socially similar and who have already been accepted by the work group.

For whites and Indians the presence of large numbers of peers, most of whom have made successful adaptations, makes the task of achieving appropriate social support relatively easy. Hence all

they have to secure is social integration, and the support is more or less automatically and imperceptibly forthcoming. They have the luxury of becoming concerned about the more active mode of 'accommodating others' and of 'giving support' in the social network operating in the workplace.

For blacks, on the other hand, this form of social support is lacking. They do not have the support of substantial numbers of peers, and it is doubtful whether the few blacks who are present are viewed positively by other race groups. It is therefore suggested that the lack of much needed social support (in numbers and in work-related friendships and peer relations) will produce anxieties which exacerbate problems in the perception of the workplace.

This is further complicated by the lack of social and work-related skills. If blacks are not competent at work, they are further hindered in becoming socially integrated and in establishing a position where they do the 'accommodating'.⁴¹⁾ This disposition may also explain why constructs like 'goal orientation', 'open-mindedness', 'work guidance' and 'confidence' form part of blacks' interpretative frameworks of the workplace, but not those of whites' and Indians'.

3.4 CONCLUSIONS: THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE

It was pointed out earlier (section 2.1) that competence in the dominant language (English) is a crucial resource for securing viable employment. In this regard it was maintained that black school-leavers need language as an object and as a vehicle. As an object, language is important because effective language skills will greatly enhance black school-leavers' ability to adjust to and develop in the work environment. As a vehicle, language skills are important as a means of overcoming barriers which are not created by the lack of language competence per se.

It was suggested, however, that entrenched roles of whites as superior and blacks as subordinate are a major obstacle to blacks' ability to improve their language skills. This problem is exacerbated by the objective structure of the workplace where white and black are invariably in a superior-subordinate relationship to each other.

The biggest barrier to improved communication between black and white may therefore be the different perceptions both parties have of appropriate responses in situations which are clouded by entrenched 'white' and 'black' role behaviour. A direct consequence may be that new black employees will remain passive participants in the work process because they will lack the confidence to take risks (an essential language learning strategy) when communicating with others.

Our research furthermore indicated that new black employees lack social support in the workplace (see section 3.2). They seem to be unable to become part of the informal networks operating at work and hence they are to a large extent excluded from the subtle meanings and sentiments of dominant group behaviour. The implications of this apparent exclusion are serious for blacks who lack confidence and who do not seem to be able to develop effective language skills for coping at work.

New employee perceptions of the workplace (Section 3.3) revealed that white and Indian employees emphasize the importance of 'accommodating others' and of 'social integration' in the workplace.

Blacks, on the other hand, emphasize 'social supportiveness' in their interpretation of other people at work. This is perhaps another indication of the consequences of poor language skills for blacks' perceptions of the workplace: If they feel vulnerable and poorly accepted, they will need social support before they can accommodate others and become socially integrated at work.

On the basis of the information gathered in this report it became evident that language becomes a badge of separate identity for blacks at work. They are unable to use language to best effect in securing friendships and peer relations with people outside the black group, and thus run the risk of being excluded from important informal networks. Language therefore becomes the initial divisive cue which suggests blacks are different, and in the process social categorisation of people is entrenched.

In the following section the language needs and attitudes of young urban blacks are further described. The specific aim of the language study was to explore prevailing language attitudes, and to attempt to make deductions about what may be regarded as functional and appropriate language use.

4.0 AN ASSESSMENT OF THE LANGUAGE NEEDS AND ATTITUDES OF YOUNG URBAN BLACKS

In the exploration of the language needs of young urban blacks, the following factors were considered:

- The school environment in which English is learned before employment;
- The work environment where English is the dominant language; and
- The attitudes of blacks towards the use of their mother tongue (Zulu) and the use of English.⁴²⁾

The language abilities of young urban blacks were assessed during the running of the two Work Orientation and Language Programmes. In this section a description will be given of the three aspects mentioned above, with specific reference to the implications of language attitudes of blacks for their perceptions of appropriate and functional language use.

4.1 THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

The effects of policies of separate education and segregated living areas on the ability of black school-leavers to compete effectively in the employment market have been referred to earlier in this report. In this section, however, attention is specifically focussed on the language abilities and attitudes of young urban blacks. It is suggested that the effects of the lack of exposure to first language (LI) speakers of English are serious for blacks, who not only suffer educational inequality but, as a consequence of segregation, also linguistic inequality.

Furthermore, a cursory look at the school situation suggests that there are a myriad problems which minimise the potential of the school environment to serve as an adequate environment for the learning of English. The most obvious is that teachers in general are not equipped to function as facilitators of language learning because they themselves have poor language skills. Less obvious, but equally important, are the consequences of major structural constraints like high teacher-pupil ratios, poor teacher qualifications, and abysmal physical conditions, which are at least in part responsible for a heavy reliance on rote learning and an authoritarian teaching approach.

With the emphasis mainly on passing examinations in order to gain certification (which in principle should secure access to employment) education is by implication not process orientated, but product orientated. Students have to retrieve factual information from text books in a language with which they are not familiar, and teachers are there to see that they do so. There is little, if any, opportunity to become fluent in English.

Failure of the school environment to make pupils proficient in the dominant language of industry has serious implications. The ability to speak English is inextricably bound up with access to the employment market and to the symbols of the dominant white group.⁴³⁾ It is ironic that English as the preferred medium of

instruction in black schools⁴⁴⁾ has paid so few dividends. The situation may even be worse now than it was in the days of missionary education. For the past 30 years blacks have acquired the foundations of English entirely through the medium of a second language. Black school-leavers on the whole, therefore, enter the job market ill-equipped and incompetent in the dominant language.

4.2 THE WORK ENVIRONMENT

The issue of the inability of blacks to use English comfortably and effectively was discussed in the research reported on in Section 2. It was pointed out that the need for fluency in English is particularly important in positions outside the unskilled labour force where effective interaction between black and white is essential. It was also suggested that, rather than blacks using language as a form of individual control, the lack of language competence becomes a major obstacle to adapting to and actively participating in the work process.

Although it is recognised that the learning of English is almost entirely a classroom experience for most young blacks, it is nevertheless surprising that the work environment, which could potentially serve as fertile ground for language learning, does little to improve the language skills of blacks. In this regard it was postulated that many of the problems blacks experience at work are played out and receive expression in the process of interaction. One of the biggest obstacles to performance at work may therefore be the interplay of black-white expectations, which are revealed in their interaction. With regard to language learning it is suggested that traditionally the learner is always placed in a deficit position, and language is seen as the possession of those who already speak it⁴⁵⁾. Yet, in order to learn to communicate effectively, both learner and LI speaker have to co-operate in order to achieve enough overlap with the intention and needs of the other person. This, however, does not seem to happen in interaction between black and white in the workplace.

Chick ⁴⁶⁾ provides further insightful interpretation of black-white interaction in the South African context and suggests that stressful encounters between black and white may "combine with larger, structural, historically-given factors to achieve a negative cycle of socially created discrimination". His analyses are informed by interactional sociolinguistics, which looks at interaction with a view to identifying the way in which socio-cultural knowledge or information is used by interlocutors to interpret intent and evaluate one another's motives and abilities.

According to Chick, synchrony in interaction is achieved when the interlocutors have access to relevant interpretative frames of reference or schemata (culturally conventional sets of expectations and assumptions about the situation or context) and a knowledge of the verbal and non-verbal cues which invoke these frames. They enable the interlocutors to work out what interactional activity they are mutually engaged in and how it might unfold. They also enable them to signal and interpret through politeness strategies, what sorts of social relationships exist in the interaction. Where this degree of sharing does not obtain, asynchrony is more likely to occur.

Such asynchrony frequently causes the interlocutors to misinterpret intentions, and misjudge motives and abilities. The significance of these findings for black-white interaction in the workplace is clear. Because black-white relationships have been severely influenced by an ideology of separation and legally-enforced segregation, blacks and whites seldom have the opportunity to learn enough about one another's communication conventions and backgrounds to communicate effectively.

Chick (1984:31) furthermore suggests that "a targeted communication style for Zulu-English speakers has become... deferential behaviour associated with the less powerful participant in an asymmetrical politeness system". In this regard it is suggested that this deferential style will become

entrenched if there is little or no co-operation between black and white in the process of interaction, and that language learning for blacks will remain largely passive and at the imitative level of what they consider to be appropriate language use.

The impressions gained in industry and commerce are that whites (L1 speakers) have not developed the tolerance and flexibility which are essential to allow blacks the freedom to take language risks, to explore language options, to make mistakes and to express their opinions. The often proclaimed causes of a passive stance at work, namely rote learning and an authoritarian approach at school, are replicated in the work situation. Whites invariably give the instructions and blacks follow orders. Feedback is mainly restricted to checking whether messages have been⁴⁷⁾ correctly received

4.3 AN ASSESSMENT OF THE LANGUAGE SKILLS OF BLACK SCHOOL-LEAVERS ON THE WORK ORIENTATION AND LANGUAGE PROGRAMME

Impressions of language ability were gathered during screening interviews conducted with two groups of black school-leavers who applied for admission to the Work Orientation and Language Programme.⁴⁸⁾ These impressions were reassessed during the running of the two programmes. Briefly, the major characteristics of language incompetence can be outlined as follows:

- lack of fluency;
- lack of independence in discussion and inability to initiate conversation;
- inability at times to follow English spoken at normal speed; and
- inability to follow topic switches and to respond to attitudinal tones or shift.⁴⁹⁾

It was to be expected that trainees would lack language fluency and would therefore find it difficult at times to follow English spoken at normal speed. It was nevertheless interesting to observe that those who became trainees on the programme demonstrated the ability to initiate conversation, and to maintain their part of a conversation more than adequately. They were also able to handle topic switches and shifts in attitudinal tones in conversations in a fairly short space of time.⁵⁰⁾

The one exception to the language flexibility referred to above was observed in situations which could be regarded as threatening to trainees. An example of such a situation was discussed in some detail earlier in the report (see Section 2.2.3). It was furthermore observed on a few occasions that trainees withdrew when the trainer displayed an aggressive or authoritarian stance. In discussions with trainees at a later stage it became clear that they interpreted the behaviour of the trainer as a change in attitude, and, as a result, withdrew from the interaction.⁵¹⁾

The interplay of trainees' apparent passivity and the trainer's assertiveness points to a situation which must be replayed in the workplace time and again; blacks lose trust (a frail and tenuous ingredient they need in order to assert themselves when interacting with whites) and react in a passive, non-challenging manner, while whites have their negative stereotypes reinforced.

In this regard it is important to refer to trainees' expectations of the workplace,⁵²⁾ and to employer perceptions of the main adaptation problems new black employees experience.

It will be recalled that employers regarded the lack of language fluency as a major impediment to new black employees' progress in the workplace. Their perceptions of the language problems new black employees experience included blacks' inability to make themselves understood, not following English spoken by LI speakers, not saying when they do not understand, and not asking questions.

Black trainees' expectations of the workplace seemed to suggest a different picture, however. Their biggest fears were that:

- they would meet 'difficult' people (i.e. people who are not tolerant and 'culturally' understanding);
- their questioning would irritate supervisors and colleagues;
- they would be reprimanded when making mistakes;
- they would feel strange and therefore would be nervous and unsure of themselves; and
- they would not understand people because they might talk too fast.⁵³⁾

On the other hand, they hoped that supervisors would explain new work to them, treat them like new employees, introduce them to others, and be patient when they asked a lot of questions.

It is suggested in this regard that black fears may be played out in reality. For example, supervisors may take it for granted that new employees should have sound basic language skills, and may therefore not have the correct approach to those who are not competent language users. This may have serious consequences for blacks. If they already feel vulnerable and lack confidence, they may withdraw from the process of interaction.

4.4 AN ASSESSMENT OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF YOUNG URBAN BLACKS TOWARDS ZULU AND ENGLISH

The aim of the research undertaking described in this sub-section was to investigate prevailing attitudes among young urban blacks in the Durban region to the use of English and Zulu. It was also anticipated that it would be possible to deduce from the data gathered what is regarded as appropriate and functional language use.

4.4.1 Exploratory work on language attitudes

Discussions with a group of community work trainees⁵⁴⁾ on the implications of language variety for working in different types of communities revealed interesting perceptions of language attitudes. For example, it became clear that blacks in urban areas respond ambiguously to what they referred to as 'traditional' Zulu. On the one hand it is associated with tradition, wisdom and cultural purity; on the other, it is associated with people who are regarded as 'uneducated', 'uncivilized' and backward.

Blacks who speak English, however, are regarded as educated, modern, and civilized and therefore equal to whites. At the same time they are also regarded as people who have adapted to the extent of having lost their tradition. Similarly, those who speak a variety of Zulu they referred to as 'diluted' Zulu⁵⁵⁾ symbolise modernity, status and education, but are regarded as rootless people.

The main characteristics ascribed to English and Zulu were that:

- English is an international language; a 'polite' language with many 'begging' (i.e. imploring) and euphemistic expressions' and a soft and gentle language.
- Zulu was described as a 'respectful' and 'proud' language with strong sounds and a long-winded style; and also as a simple (i.e. straightforward) language.

The exploratory work suggests that Zulu-speaking blacks may experience a shift in attitudes towards their own language and English in the process of adapting to a first-world urban environment where English is the dominant language. Although the Zulu language may still symbolise emotional ties with traditional culture, its use may be regarded as of little value in the context of the realities of coping in an urban, industrial society. In this regard it was postulated that:

- Blacks will assign a high value to the use of English, and will therefore show an over-concern with the use of English in situations where it may be important to impress or appear 'modern' and 'educated';
- Zulu will not be highly regarded because of its limited use and low status in employment, and will be perceived as having limited advantages for personal advancement. Zulu may therefore be used mainly in situations where it is important to show loyalty, or concern for older, more traditional blacks.

4.4.2 A preliminary language attitude survey

In an attempt to establish the validity of perceptions of attitudes to English and Zulu which were revealed during the exploratory study referred to above, a survey was conducted among a sample of 146 young urban blacks in metropolitan Durban.⁵⁶⁾

A brief overview of the main findings is reported on below:

Situations in which English is used

In order to understand what is regarded as appropriate language use, it was necessary to look at the situations in which English is used most often, and people with whom it is associated. In the following situations the majority of respondents regarded English as more appropriate than Zulu, or preferred it to Zulu: (See Table 4 below)

TABLE 4: SITUATIONS IN WHICH ENGLISH IS USED

When	%
- a student has to write to a school inspector	98
- blacks are drinking	97
- talking to a (black) supervisor	88
- a matriculant writes a love letter	79
- students discuss politics	63
- needing to sound educated	60
with	
- teachers	59
- medical people	55
- colleagues at work	52

Situations in which at least a third of the respondents preferred English, are:

TABLE 5: SITUATIONS IN WHICH ENGLISH IS PREFERRED BY AT LEAST 1/3 OF THE SAMPLE

When	%
- discussing social events with peers	49
- with friends at parties	44
- at mass meetings	43
- at 'elite' meetings (like parent-teacher)	40
- socialising with young blacks	33

The above results seem to indicate that young blacks prefer to speak English when socialising with friends and colleagues; when they communicate with blacks of higher status (e.g. inspectors, superiors at work, teachers and medical people); and at mass meetings or when discussing politics.

In order to arrive at a clearer understanding of the nature of the language preference, responses were cross tabulated with the level of education of the respondents. Differences were also

noted between those who responded to the questionnaire in Zulu and those who responded in English.

Due to the exploratory nature of this investigation, and for the purposes of this paper, only the following trends of language preference in social contexts are worth highlighting:

- In general, those who responded in Zulu almost always had a lower preference for the use of English than those who responded in English. The only exceptions were:
 - when discussing social events with colleagues at work (Zulu (N=46) 56%; English (N=90) 44%);
 - when using expressive words (Zulu 80%; English 57%);
 - when not wanting to be regarded as less worthy (Zulu 78%; English 73%);
 - when wanting to appear educated to other blacks (Zulu 78%; English 51%).

A tentative conclusion from the results was that those who responded in Zulu were more 'loyal' to the use of their mother tongue whilst those who responded in English had more of an 'English' orientation. Furthermore, those who responded in Zulu indicated a preference for Zulu in situations where loyalty and values are affected, but seemed to indicate a preference for English in situations or with people where affirmation as 'urban', 'educated' or 'modern' is important.

- Respondents with a relatively high level of education (Std.10+) always had a higher preference for the use of English than those with a lower level of education (Std. 6-9).

An obvious explanation may be that those with higher qualifications have better (English) language skills and are more upwardly mobile than those with lower qualifications. A direct consequence could be that there will be more opportunities to speak English, and more will be created.

- Almost all of the respondents (98%) thought that English was the more appropriate language for a school pupil to use when writing to a school inspector.

This choice is inevitable because English is associated with formal education.

- Almost all the respondents (97%) agreed that blacks like to use English when drinking; and that blacks in townships like to add a few English words when they speak Zulu (99%).

A clear interpretation of what this implies is not easy. Perhaps explanations of respondents⁵⁷⁾ will be useful. They suggested that people feel more confident when they are drinking. According to one respondent, this is when 'the big guys stretch their vocabs'. Others suggested that people like to use 'bombastic' words and 'long sentences' to impress and to show that they are educated.

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

The implications of young blacks' lack of competence in English have been discussed earlier in the report (Section 2.1 and 3.4). In this section it was also pointed out that training experience on this project clearly indicated that young blacks demonstrate the correct language learning strategies. For example, they can more than adequately initiate conversation, maintain their part of a conversation, and handle topic switches and shifts in attitudinal tones in conversations. (See Section 4.3)

However, employers and supervisors stressed that one of the major barriers to effectively communicating with young blacks at work is that they do not ask questions and do not say when they do not understand instructions (see Section 2). Black trainees, on the other hand, hoped that they would not meet 'difficult' people at work and that their questioning would not irritate supervisors and colleagues (see Section 4.3).

It is clear that new black employees will struggle to demonstrate their language abilities, or their willingness to improve, in a situation they might perceive as threatening. When they feel vulnerable and poorly accepted, the last thing they will do is to demonstrate effective language (and language learning) strategies and so run the risk of face loss.

The problem of poor language skills in the workplace is compounded by what seems to be prevailing attitudes among young urban blacks towards the use of English. It is at this stage not possible to make clear-cut statements about the implications of attitudes to the use of English. A number of possibilities are, however, suggested below.

- Because of their overt inability to speak English fluently, and, more importantly, because of possible incomplete conceptual expression, blacks remain marginal people⁵⁸⁾ in urban, industrial work settings.

They learn from an early age that English is good, necessary and a mechanism for gaining equality with whites. Yet, because of social segregation, they never have the opportunity to come into contact with authentic models of English, until they enter the work environment. They are unfamiliar with nuances of meaning and appropriate functional use of English in a variety of settings where they are in the minority, and where white 'meaning' counts.

- Because English is the dominant language of industry and of educational institutions, blacks will view it as important for their progress.

Yet, as was pointed out earlier, the work environment does not seem to be conducive to the implementation of appropriate language learning strategies. Blacks' language learning strategies may therefore remain largely imitative, or they may prefer to remain passive and only respond to L1 speakers when it is absolutely necessary.

- Because of the perceived importance of English for individual advancement, and because educational and work institutions are not conducive environments for language learning, blacks will try to improve their English language ability in social situations with other blacks where they do not feel vulnerable, or where they can shed their inhibitions.

A major consequence is that the language variety they learn in such social situations will be regarded as appropriate and will be reinforced.

- Because English has become a symbol of being educated, modern, civilised and western, blacks will attempt to minimize their association with their tradition and their language.⁵⁹⁾

A consequence of the individual's conflict between emotional ties and the practical realities which deny these ties may perhaps be a situation where blacks are forced to, at least temporarily, function in a cultural vacuum. A related consequence is that chances of any form of cultural confrontation between black and white in South Africa are minimised and postponed.

5.0 BLACK EDUCATION: TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ROLES

Conventional analyses of the weaknesses of black education attribute the crisis currently experienced in black schools largely to inadequate state expenditure, and concomitantly to poor infrastructure in terms of facilities, high teacher-pupil ratios, poorly qualified teachers, and inappropriate syllabi for the needs of black school-leavers.⁶¹⁾

More recently attention has also been turned to conflict in schools⁶²⁾ and poor matriculation results.⁶³⁾ Both are regarded as powerful indicators of the effects of inferior and separate education. It is also suggested that the quality of black education would continue to suffer as long as the black education system⁶⁴⁾ is segregated and isolated from other educational systems.

As was pointed out earlier (Section 1), the purpose of this research project was not to analyse or describe the problems inherent in black education. Rather, it was to analyse and to describe the problems black school-leavers/junior employees experience in adjusting to, and in making progress, in a work environment that is dominated by (white) urban, industrial work norms.

The report thus far has described and analysed the needs of black school-leavers as revealed in research undertaken with:

- employers and supervisors of junior clerical/administrative employees; and
- black school-leavers, trainees and new employees.

The aim of the research undertaken in black schools was specifically to investigate teachers' perceptions of their role in preparing pupils for their future careers, as well as their perceptions of the role of schools in this regard.

The research was undertaken in two phases:

- 1) Exploratory work in the form of focus group discussions with teachers and pupils and in-depth interviews with a select number of principals and inspectors;
- 2) Face-to-face questionnaire-type interviews with teachers (N=155) of senior pupils in a number of schools in the Durban area.

Below follows a brief description of the two studies.

5.1 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION WITH TEACHERS AND SENIOR PUPILS

Focus group discussions were held with 11 teachers and 10 pupils respectively. The teacher sample was drawn from different schools, whereas the pupils were all selected from one school. In both instances the principals were involved in deciding who the participants should be.

The aims of the focus group discussions were:

- 1) To discuss typical problems faced by teachers and pupils;
and
- 2) To explore more indirectly the role perceptions teachers and pupils have of themselves as well as of principals and parents.

The discussions were tape-recorded and later transcribed for analysis. The following are the major trends which emerged:

● Perceptions of teachers

Pupils perceived teachers as

- lacking in confidence;
- incompetent in their subject matter;
- failing to control the classroom situation;
- lacking motivation; and
- having low moral standards and thus setting a poor example for pupils.

Teachers were predictably more sympathetic to the plight of teachers in black schools. Their responses confirmed most of the issues raised by pupils, and are briefly summarised below:

Teachers perceived fellow teachers as

- lacking confidence in themselves.

Reasons given for their lack of confidence were mainly their inadequate qualifications and the poor conditions under which they have to teach.

- lacking motivation and having the wrong attitude to their profession. They are frustrated by large classes, inadequate facilities and a work overload. They also feel that they have very little control over pupils and get little support from principals and parents.
- experiencing little cooperation between teachers. They have different levels of commitment and it is invariably the hardworking teachers who end up doing the work of the 'lazy' teachers.
- experiencing a lack of trust among teaching staff. Teachers do not form friendship groups. Those groups which do exist are regarded as 'gossipers'. There is also very little socialising after school.
- feeling they are not adequately rewarded and remunerated for their efforts. Salaries are low and hardworking teachers become demotivated because their work load is increased.

● Perceptions of principals

Pupils and teachers felt that principals are inconsistent in their behaviour. Teachers felt that principals pander to the wishes of parents. There also seems to be very little communication between principals and teachers. Those who frequent the principal's office are regarded by fellow teachers as 'informers'. Pupils felt that principals are controlled by inspectors, who are in turn controlled by the State.

● Teachers' perceptions of their role in relation to pupils

Teachers were surprisingly sympathetic towards pupils and saw them as victims of an education system which is designed to keep blacks inferior.

When questioned about their role in preparing pupils for their future careers, teachers felt that they have a limited role to play and that guidance teachers are in the best position to fulfil this role.

Teachers' comments, however, also seemed to suggest an awareness of the importance of providing a challenging atmosphere for pupils. This is, according to them, mainly achieved by discussing sport and politics with pupils. The need to create a challenging atmosphere for subject-related discussions was not mentioned.

In general, teachers felt that pupils' participation in student bodies is desirable because it serves as a 'safety valve' where they can give vent to their frustrations and pent-up feelings. They believed that this will reduce tensions in schools.

Teachers also suggested that teachers in general are over-concerned with the need to improve their qualifications and that this is often more important to teachers than serving the needs of their pupils.

The general feeling was that teachers cope on a day-to-day basis with the hope that improved qualifications would improve their lot. They lack confidence, their morale is low, and pupils perceive them negatively. Schools are therefore failing to measure up to the needs and aspirations of both pupils and teachers.

Themes which emerged in the focus group discussions with teachers and pupils were used in follow-up discussions with principals and inspectors. The information gathered was then used as the basis for the design of a questionnaire which was used in face-to-face interviews with teachers of senior pupils in black schools in the Durban area. This study is discussed below.

5.2 INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS: SELF-PERCEPTIONS AND
PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ROLE IN PREPARING SENIOR
STUDENTS FOR THEIR FUTURE CAREERS

Interviews were conducted with 155 teachers of senior pupils in schools in 5 circuits in the Durban area. Inspectors in each circuit area were contacted. The names of all the teachers were tabulated and randomly (and proportionately) selected from each circuit.

This was a relatively big study but for the purposes of this report only the most salient results will be given.

● Teachers' disenchantment with the education system

Teachers' responses to the question of what they regarded as most needed to improve black education are tabulated below. (See Table 6)

TABLE 6: NEEDED IMPROVEMENTS IN BLACK EDUCATION

	%
	(N=155)
Facilities and equipment	21
Teacher training and qualifications	17
Teacher salaries	14
Same education for all race groups	14
Free and compulsory education	14
More schools	9
Broader subject selection	6
Lower teacher/pupil ratio	4
Improved teaching methods	3
Fair allocation of subjects to teachers	3

It is interesting to note that structural issues were rated highest (i.e. most in need of change) while very few respondents felt that issues such as 'improved teaching methods' and 'a fair allocation of subjects to teachers' needed attention. It could be that structural factors are overpowering in their effect on teachers and on the atmosphere at school. This perhaps explains the underemphasis of other factors in need of change.

- Teachers' perceptions of constraints on their role as educators

The harsh realities of black education and some of the common conditions prevailing in schools are well known⁶⁶⁾. The effects of these conditions on the capacity of teachers to fulfil their roles as educators should not be underestimated.

For example, it is well known that black teachers in general lack confidence and their morale is low. Administrative and support services are largely ineffective and in most cases non-existent. Teachers therefore are professionally isolated. They lack crucially needed support and assistance and have to cope in over-crowded classrooms with very few material resources.⁶⁷⁾

With poor basic qualifications and heavy responsibilities in a school system that is poorly managed, it is to be expected that teachers will struggle to act on what they perceive their roles to be.

The results of this study confirmed the low morale of teachers, and some of the constraints working against them realising their role are outlined below:

- 63% agreed that teachers can achieve very little under the present conditions at black schools, regardless of the capabilities of teachers;
- 62% agreed that principals do not give enough support;
- 62% agreed that hardworking teachers have to make up for the lazy ones;
- 60% agreed that some teachers drink during school hours;
- 65% agreed that teachers often lose control in class and feel helpless;
- 88% agreed that a teacher has to be very strong and firm to control a class these days;
- 59% agreed that most parents are not interested in their children's progress at school;
- 87% agreed that parents are unable to assist their children with schoolwork.

The above results confirm some of the issues raised during the focus group discussions. In light of the above results, however, it is surprising that 75 percent of the teachers felt that most teachers like their jobs. This is perhaps an indication of teachers projecting an ideal, almost in reaction to a system within which they have to function and over which they have little control.

● Teachers' perceptions of their role and influence on pupils

Discrepancies in teachers' role perceptions are to be anticipated when they have to operate under severe constraints.

For example:

- 72% said that pupils are more influenced by what other pupils say than by what their teachers say;
yet
- 86% said that although pupils may be influenced by their friends and classmates, they will listen to a good and mature teacher;
and
- 72% agreed that pupils have little to offer on their own and have to be shaped by their teachers.

This is perhaps an indication of teachers knowing that they ought to be in control of their pupils, but in reality they experience a lack of control and influence over the pupils they have to teach.

● Teachers' perceptions of pupils

Teachers' perceptions of what pupils should learn, and of pupils' behaviour at school, provided interesting insights into possible perceptions teachers have of their role as educators.

For example:

Almost all teachers agreed (94%) that children grow up too early these days. They also felt, however, that pupils at school:

- can only work with constant supervision (77%);
- are not hardworking (75%);
- do not ask intelligent questions (75%);
- are not punctual (60%);
- do not keep quiet when told to (55%);
- are difficult to get on with (47%).
- do not trust their teachers (53%)

Skills, attitudes or abilities teachers thought are most important for pupils to learn at school were:

- to be honest (78%);
- to have good manners (77%);
- to be punctual (77%);
- to be reliable (74%);
- to be fluent in English (72%); and
- to work for self-advancement (72%).

Teachers thus seemed to stress the need for good behaviour, perhaps to the detriment of active learning skills. For example, the ability to learn from others (55%); to ask intelligent questions (57%); and to solve conflicts (49%) were not regarded as very important. According to work norms operant in industry, teachers also undervalued the importance of taking (or showing) initiative - only 45% thought it was very important.

Teachers agreed (79%) that the most important thing for pupils to do is to concentrate in class and to remember what they are taught. This, however, should not be taken to mean that teachers feel pupils should learn by rote since only 30 percent agreed that 'learning to remember and memorise facts' is very important.

An unexpected response is perhaps the importance the sample of teachers assigned to the ability to work for self-advancement (72%). It is a common complaint in industry that blacks are too people-oriented and lack achievement motivation. Teachers did not regard the ability to work for the benefit of the team as important (only 33% agreed that it was important).

- Teachers' perceptions of the correct teaching approach

Almost all the teachers (99%) agreed that pupils should be taught discipline, and 81 percent agreed that pupils should be punished when they do not follow instructions. This clearly suggests teachers' approval of an authoritarian teaching approach, even if only because it is a means of coping. For example, 50 percent agreed that teachers often punish pupils to show that they are in control.

- Teachers' level of satisfaction with their jobs and their career aspirations

When teachers were asked what they would like to do most if they had the opportunity, 81 percent said they would like to improve their qualifications (see Table 7 below for responses to other choices).

TABLE 7: ASPIRATIONS OF TEACHERS IF THEY HAD THE OPPORTUNITY

	% (N=155)
go to another school	1
find a job in industry	2
improve qualifications	81
become self-employed	10
stay at home	1
work in another country	5

The above results have to be cautiously interpreted. Forty percent of the sample group said that they trusted nobody, and only 3 percent respectively said they trusted their principal and their colleagues at school. They might therefore have given a response they thought was a safe choice in a context where they feel vulnerable - improving qualifications is an individual strategy which is not primarily dependent on others. Alternatively, teachers may feel that the only means of bolstering their confidence is to improve their qualifications.

A more indirect question revealed slightly different insights. When asked what they would like to do most if they won a lot of money, they responded as follows: (See Table 8 below)

TABLE 8: TEACHER CHOICES OF WAYS THEY WOULD LIKE TO SPEND THEIR MONEY

	% (N=155)
buy a plot or house	31
start own business	23
bank at a good interest rate	18
donate to welfare	15
start a good library of books	8
other	5

The above results might indicate a need for security and also give some indication of aspirations which are outside the usual expressed need to improve qualifications. For example, the choice 'to start a business' is the second option chosen by respondents. This comes after 'to buy a plot or house' which was the first option chosen.

5.3 TEACHERS' ROLE IN PREPARING SENIOR PUPILS FOR THEIR FUTURE CAREERS: SOME CONCLUSIONS

It was pointed out elsewhere⁶⁸⁾ that the black education system is seriously weak in several areas at once, but that the weaknesses in the teacher cadre are what define the limits of the system as a whole. The weaknesses, in order of priority, were thus given as

- The morale and capacity of teachers;
- The administrative and support structures of schools;
- The material resources available in classrooms.

It was also pointed out that projects need to deal with these three basic problem areas simultaneously if they are to achieve any degree of effectiveness. The scope of such an involvement is extensive, and falls outside the limits of the project described in this report.

Our research in black schools therefore focussed specifically on the self-perception of teachers and on their perceptions of the role they can play in preparing students for adult life. The intention was to gain further insights into the needs of black school-leavers, not to establish a research basis for possible intervention with teachers.

Results from both the focus-group discussions and the interviews with teachers confirmed the low morale teachers have and their lack of confidence in their own capabilities. Teacher capabilities, however, should not be taken to mean the ability to teach subject-related matters only. Without a sound morale and motivation, the capacity of teachers to teach their subject matter appropriately and adequately will be limited.

In this regard it is important to briefly summarise the major constraints which seem to prevent teachers from fulfilling their role as teachers and educators.

- Poor and inadequate qualifications are the most obvious constraint on teacher performance, and a number of teacher-upgrading programmes are currently addressing this problem.
- Structural constraints further limit the potential of teachers. For example, large classes seriously impair the flexibility of teachers as regards the teaching methods they can use. It is virtually impossible to establish a learning climate in which pupils can work independently and where the teacher can still remain in control. Inadequate material resources further restrict the teacher's role.
- The inability of both teachers and pupils to handle English, the medium of instruction, at a conceptual level has serious implications for the education process.

The effects of the above constraints on the role of the teacher is further exacerbated by the lack of support and trust teachers seem to experience. Teachers seem to lack support from principals, parents, fellow teachers and pupils. They do not trust their principals and colleagues, and their pupils do not trust them. They therefore do not only work in an insular and isolated system, but they themselves seem to experience a strong sense of alienation from the system of which they are supposed to form an integral part.

Like blacks in industry, the only coping mechanism they seem to resort to is to aspire to improved qualifications. It is predicted in this regard that they will overlook possible micro strategies for individual development which may assist them to fulfil their roles as teachers more adequately.

The implications for both teachers and pupils of a system that is characterised by a combination of structural constraints and teachers who have lost control, and have become alienated from the teaching process, are serious. The ongoing school boycotts are some indication of pupils attempting to take control of a system which is not serving their needs.

However, any education system is by nature hierarchical. Pupil control may give pupils a futile sense of power in a situation where these hierarchical power relations have become reversed. A direct consequence of such a situation is that teachers cannot possibly prepare pupils for their future careers and for adult life.

6.0 A SYNTHESIS OF BLACK SCHOOL-LEAVER NEEDS

It was stated in the beginning that black school-leavers' inability to compete effectively with their white, coloured and Indian counterparts for viable employment has to be analysed within a framework of certain historical and structural forces.

These forces have manifested themselves in specific consequences highly relevant to advancement among blacks. For example,

- competence in the dominant language which facilitates the development of effective communication skills;
- basic skills on which further job-related training can be based; and
- a broad understanding of the workplace, which includes an understanding of task requirements and employer expectations.

Black school-leavers, however, seem to have deficits in all three areas. In this sense it is clear that State-legislated social segregation is a key structural and historical force which perpetuates blacks' underpreparedness for the workplace.

Black children grow up and go to schools in a highly insular social system on the periphery of the white-controlled urban industrial environment. The consequences are clear: school-leavers in general only come into contact with L1 speakers of English for extended periods of time once they are employed. They also lack in basic skills because the formal education they received is inferior, and they do not seem to be able to act positively on the knowledge they may have of task-related requirements and expectations at work.

Employers are reticent about employing black school-leavers because of what they perceive to be serious skills deficits. However, due to internal and external pressures, and due to manpower needs, organisations have been forced to employ blacks in positions outside the unskilled labour force.

The advancement of blacks, however, has not prospered as well as organisations have hoped it would. The most usual explanation advanced for this enduring problem is the quality of black education, and that African culture is pervaded by a traditional orientation which is ill-suited to a western, industrial work setting.

The consequences of these two areas of skill and attitude deficits are perceived by employers to be that blacks on average

- have poor language and interactional skills, especially at the black-white interface;
- lack achievement-orientation;
- have stronger affiliation needs due to the fact that work and social supports are not forthcoming;
- demonstrate little understanding of the western, industrial work ethic; and
- have poorly informed aspirations and expectations.

Our research also revealed, however, that while employer perceptions of the problems black employees experience must be taken as valid, blacks do not become part of the work process, and do not make progress, due to a complex set of interacting variables:

1. Language competence is essential for new black employees, not only because it makes adjustment to work easier, but also because they need to use language effectively (and strategically) to overcome barriers which were not created by their lack of language competence.

It also became clear, however, that the work environment does not seem to be conducive to language learning. New blacks recruits lack confidence and feel vulnerable and poorly accepted. As a result they do not take risks in their use of language and invariably remain passive participants in the work process. Their passivity is further compounded by the objective structure of the work

situation (superior - subordinate authority relationship), and by the broader socio-political structure where white is dominant and black dominated.

2. Achievement motivation and the need for group affiliation:

It was suggested that young blacks enter the workplace with high aspirations for individual advancement and with expectations of an improved quality of life. Negative experiences at work, however, may result in their withdrawal from competition and their alienation from the day-to-day work process. Although their long-term aspirations for individual advancement may remain perhaps unrealistically high, they will be inclined to strengthen group affiliation with other blacks who have had similar experiences.

It is therefore not primarily a question of blacks lacking achievement motivation. Rather, it is a question of blacks, on average, choosing the safer short-term option of group affiliation with those whom they can trust and who support them.

3. The attitude-behaviour discrepancy: It is often claimed that blacks lack an understanding of the western industrial work ethic. Our research, however, clearly indicated that blacks, on average, know what is expected of them in a work environment which is dominated by western industrial work norms, although they seem unable to act positively on this awareness.

The one exception to blacks' awareness of what is expected (or valued) at work is the ability to resolve conflict. This also seems to be borne out in their work-related behaviour. It was suggested that one consequence of blacks' aversion to conflict is that employers will have their negative views of blacks' capabilities reinforced. Instead of venturing to demonstrate their ability and equality,

blacks may prefer to hide behind a 'deficit facade' in order to avoid the risk of crisis or conflict with an objectively more powerful group.

4. Individual strategies for advancement: It was pointed out that a strategy which seems to be successfully used by most new employees is the forming of close friendships and peer relations with individuals who have already been accepted by the workgroup. These individuals then serve as informal coaches to new employees, who through anecdotes, jokes, mimicry of superiors as well as serious advice provide the novices with the cues they need for coping in interaction in the workplace.

For blacks this form of social support is lacking. Although they are initially surprised at the lack of overt discrimination, later on they seem to be unable to develop a meaningful network of support within the group. It was suggested that this exclusion from the dominant group has at least three consequences for new black employees:

- 1) they are unable to learn the subtle meanings of dominant group behaviour;
- 2) they are unable, in a positive manner, to establish a clear personal, social or cultural identity for themselves; and hence
- 3) they feel the strain of what they identify as 'discrimination'.

A coping strategy which seems to be employed by most blacks in this regard is to opt for what they consider to be a foolproof method of succeeding - to improve their qualifications. Ironically, however, it can be predicted that this will pay few dividends, unless blacks also learn micro strategies of coping and making progress at work.

The most crucial need therefore seems to be for a bridging programme to address the issue of micro strategies required for individual control over short-term adaptation and sustained longer-term growth. This necessitates a focus on the process of individual development, in contrast to the usual focus on skills training which is characterized by a limited (and limiting) emphasis on the development of predefined 'appropriate' behaviour deemed to be 'appropriate' in the workplace.

Young black employees in more elevated positions in the workforce need to have an abundance of strategy, tenacity and machiavellianism in order to survive myriad constraints on their progress. They need to secure positions of individual control from which to manipulate their work environment. This control needs to be maintained by their ability to negotiate informal roles which will engender more appropriate perceptions of their capabilities. Concomitantly, they have to act on their experiences at work and hence stimulate change in attitudes and behaviour of those who directly affect them in the workplace.

If training merely attempts to facilitate the smooth adaptation of young black recruits to the white-dominated workplace controlled by an established organisational culture, blacks will remain second class participants in the work process.

It is obviously unrealistic to put the onus for change solely on new black recruits. The bridging programme discussed in the next section can provide only a partial corrective to a situation which we have described as characterised by the "functional" alienation of young black employees. Organisations have to become aware of, and act on, the specific effects on new black employees of the historic and structural forces in the broader context of a deeply divided society.

7.0 COMPONENTS OF THE WORK ORIENTATION AND LANGUAGE PROGRAMME 70)

The aim of the research reported on in previous sections was to provide a basis for the development and evaluation of a programme which would facilitate the progress of young blacks in clerical and administrative employment. The purpose here is not to attempt to give full details of a many-faceted training programme which is integrally process orientated. Rather, it is to spell out the objectives of the programme, the approach required in the training of black school-leavers, and the basic premises on which this approach is built. The overall course content will be diagrammatically presented and a more detailed description will only be given of the language component, for which the author was responsible.

7.1 OBJECTIVES AND RATIONALE FOR THE SPECIFIC APPROACH USED IN THE PROGRAMME

The general aims of the programme are to enable black school-leavers to develop an understanding of the demands of the workplace; and to develop skills and strategies which will facilitate their adaptation to and progress in the workplace. The key premise on which the Work Orientation and Language Programme is based is the belief that learning and personal development can only take place if individuals choose to learn, and develop a strong sense of control in their own learning and in the environment in which learning is taking place. This is specifically problematic for black school-leavers/new employees for a variety of reasons which were described in previous sections of the report. It will suffice here to refer only to the major obstacles which seem to prevent them from positively acting on and responding to a variety of situations in the workplace:

- their lack of confidence and self esteem;
- their poor language and communication skills;
- their largely situationally-derived lack of achievement motivation and the concomitant strong need for group affiliation;
- their passivity and apparent fatalistic attitude to the work process on the one hand; and
- their unrealistically high expectations and aspirations on the other.

A serious consequence of these obstacles is that black employees on average seem to be "functionally" alienated from the work process and thus the negative stereotypes employers, supervisors and fellow workers commonly hold of their abilities are reinforced.

The biggest challenge for appropriate training of black school-leavers is to instill in them a learning mode which will

facilitate the beginnings of control. This requires a strong element of challenge, and a combination of awareness and skill development. Basically, what is being suggested is that black school-leavers need to develop specific and self-reinforcing strategies helpful in:

- breaking down negative stereotypes of their abilities;
- having sufficient understanding of the process of interaction to be able to anticipate problems, to withhold responses in order to achieve strategic ends if necessary, and perhaps even to adapt responses so as to 'manipulate' supervisors and the work environment; and
- functioning from a position of confidence and control and hence sustaining individual development.

Furthermore, an orientation programme is by its nature of relatively short duration. What this means is that it is impossible to talk about skills development. Rather, the focus should be on the beginnings of skills development and the development of strategies to try to create an awareness that is favourable to the development of further skills.

The difference between skills development and the development of strategies is, most simply put, also the difference between training and education. Education in the context of this programme is taken to mean the development of awareness of and insight into processes operant in the workplace, and the strategies necessary for coping. Training, on the other hand, is more directly involved with the development of 'hard' skills for short-term adaptation. 71)

There are currently a number of programmes which support management's commitment to the advancement of blacks in their organisations. The main impression the researchers gained during their investigations is that most programmes aim at the expedient adaptation and advancement of blacks, which may be successful at

face value, but which may offer very little for sustained coping abilities and abilities to begin to exercise control over immediate interaction with people at work.

A direct consequence of training aimed at specific skills is that it may deteriorate into little more than the securing of compliance and conformity to narrowly-based dominant white expectations. This leads to the implicit and explicit admission of the supremacy of western industrial thought and action.

It should perhaps be mentioned that value neutrality is not possible to achieve in any form of training of blacks in the South African context. The value commitment of programme designers and implementers is closely interlinked with their motives for development and change. This will directly influence the content of programmes, their short-term objectives and long-term goals, and the approach of trainers to the learning process.

Without further debating the issue of training aimed at black advancement, it is necessary to point out that the Work Orientation and Language Programme is based on the belief that training should not negate what blacks have to offer, but should provide them with functional competence which will enable them to 'negotiate' a more meaningful position at work. In this regard the primary emphasis is on increased behavioural repertoires, rather than on the replacement of one set of behaviour with another.

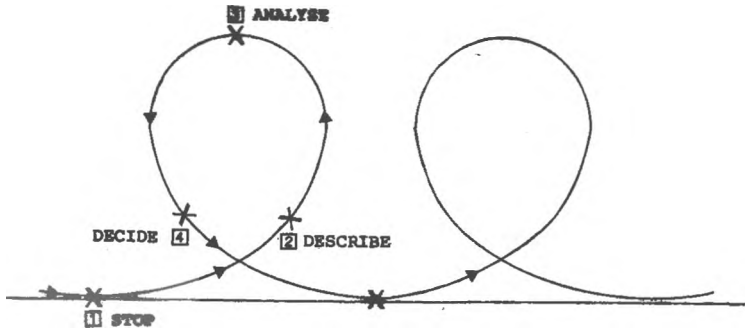
The more specific objectives of the programme are:

- To develop skills and strategies which will develop language competence and facilitate the use of this competence to best effect in interaction;
- To develop negotiating skills which will enable them to secure a position of control within their immediate work environment;

- To develop strategic co-operative skills for group participation and at the same time for individual decision-making and control; and
- To develop a more positive self-concept and thereby increased self-reliance.

Central to the above objectives is to instill in learners the beginnings of control. To this end learning on this programme is encouraged (and at times enforced) by constant reference to the experience-based learning model which is briefly described below.

The experience-based learning model



The model aims to

- Enable learners to begin to use their own experience as a source for learning. This shifts the emphasis from external factors (teachers, books, etc.) to personal and immediate experiences. (Step 1);
- Develop in the learner a reflective and analytic approach to learning. Learning in a traditional school environment relies heavily on intellect and particularly on memory to the exclusion of many other styles and sources of learning. (Steps 2 and 3);
- Move beyond intellectual and theoretical processes to active behaviour. The cycle's fourth stage is to decide on future courses of action and implicit in the decision is a commitment to act on it. Learners move from a passive to a more active learning style. (Step 4);
- Shift the responsibility from the teacher to motivate, teach and assess learners, to the learners themselves. As responsibility shifts from teacher to learner, so the learner becomes increasingly more self-reliant and independent;
- Build in personal responsibility for both decision-making and future behaviour.

The learning context is characterised by simulated and actual work interaction experiences where learners have the opportunity to grasp the negotiating mode of interaction.

More specifically, the following steps are focussed on in a disciplined reflection on learning experiences:

1. In the continuum of life experience the learner is asked to STOP in order to look more closely at
 - at idea
 - an attitude
 - certain behaviour
 - an experience
 - an event

As this learning style becomes internalised the learner begins to make conscious decisions to stop and learn and does not need a "teacher" to structure the opportunity to do so.

2. The idea/attitude/event etc. is then more clearly identified and described. The question what is used extensively in an attempt to collect information.
3. Until the learner explores why such an experience occurred (or attitude prevails) the learning experience remains purely factual. In analysis why/how/why not, the learner comes to grips with the cause and effect of the experience and can then make an assessment for the future.
4. This step (i.e. to decide), too often ignored in the learning environment, gives rise to a commitment to either affirm or change the behaviour or attitude of the individual.

It is thus clear that it is not simply a matter of "learning from experience". Learners have to

- refer to a concrete experience as a starting point;
- develop responsibility for their learning;
- monitor their own development against themselves;
- move from a teacher-dependency to self-sufficiency in their learning; (i.e. learners develop confidence in themselves as sources of information through their own observation, experience, discussion and research);
- not passively accept and respond to facts, ideas and learning material as static and necessarily true, but to enquire and to challenge. ⁷²⁾

The experience-based learning process outlined above forms an integral part of the Work Orientation and Language Programme. The direct implication is that the structure of such a programme lies in the teaching/learning process, and not in the content, which needs to remain negotiable and flexible. This does not mean that trainers could not develop materials in advance. A resource bank of materials has to be available before training starts - the content flexibility remains in how these resources are used to meet specific learner needs in specific contexts, which cannot be predetermined by trainers.

Furthermore, it is impossible to decide in advance on the finer details of a programme which has to deal with the many-faceted nature of the work adaptation process. Unplanned and informal learning forms a substantial part of the learning experience, and it is extremely difficult to record this type of learning for purposes of duplication in later programmes.

There are, nevertheless, clear-cut pointers as to what content should be included in a bridging programme aimed at black school-leavers. Below follows a brief diagrammatic presentation of the programme content, which is concluded with a more detailed description of the Language and Interaction component for which the author was responsible.

7.2 PROGRAMME COMPONENTS

The programme components offered in the 3-month full-time programme are

- Work Orientation
- Personal Development - Understanding of sub-cultures
- Clerical skills and office procedure
- Group functioning and process
- Self assessment and personal growth, and
- Language and Interaction

As is mentioned above, it is difficult to capture the richness of a programme in which informal learning forms a substantial part of students' experience; and where the learning process is characterised by continual information giving and gathering, interpretation, analysis, challenge, reflection and decision-making. Events outside the structured course components which add to students' learning experience include

- visits of observation to organisations;
- visits to places of interest in the city (e.g. the library, museum, beach front, etc.);
- attendance at seminars, workshops and talks given elsewhere; and
- participation in formal and informal social activities.

Speakers are also invited to talk about specific interests or concerns the students may have. Issues which have been addressed include health, nutrition, women's/worker rights, the role of trade unions, and the role and functions of the city council as part of the public sector. 'Successful' blacks from industry have also shared their experiences with students, and have at the same time acted as role models.

WORK ORIENTATION

AIM

To broaden understanding of the nature and functions of organisations and of the work process.

TRAINER

Davine Thaw (CIC)

● ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE ●

*organisational hierarchy
lines of communication
power relations*

● EMPLOYERS ●

*public sectors and private sectors
levels & services goods & services
career guidance
job seeking skills*

● JOB CREATION ●

*income expenditure and contribution to job
creation and maintenance.
basic description of "slump" and "healthy" economy*

● WORK EXPERIENCE AND REASONS FOR WORK ●

*preparation for work experience
one week work experience
feedback and analysis*

CLERICAL SKILLS AND OFFICE PROCEDURE

AIM

To maintain and further develop practical skills which are marketable in the clerical-administrative field; and to expand knowledge and awareness of the work process.

TRAINER

Pat Steele (CIC)

● TYPING ●

● INTRODUCTION TO WORD PROCESSOR ●

● BOOKKEEPING ●

● FILING ●

● SWITCHBOARD & TELEPHONE TECHNIQUES ●

● BASIC OFFICE PROCEDURE ●

experience through

- simulated events, case studies and role plays*
- analysis of videoed role plays*
- discussion of and participation in meeting procedures and minutes taking*
- assistance in general running of Career Information Centre.*

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT: UNDERSTANDING OF SUB-CULTURES

AIM

To provide information about the different sub-cultures represented in the workplace and so increase black school-leavers' potential effectiveness.

TRAINER

Sylvia Magojo (CASS)

● THEORETICAL INPUT ●

Description and analysis of
assimilation
bi-culturation
acculturation
pluralism

● PRACTICAL INPUT ● (specific interests indicated)

- relationships and marriage*
- social interaction and forms of address appropriate at work*
 - etiquette*
- appropriate dress patterns*
 - leisure activities*
 - education systems*
- professional and social hierarchies.*

Case studies and visual materials for use in comparative exercises.

GROUP FUNCTIONING AND PROCESS

AIM

To develop awareness and skill in group functioning, shared leadership and leadership functions.

TRAINER

Anne Kroon (CIC)

● THEORETICAL INPUT ●

- What is a group?*
- What are the purposes of a group?*
 - What needs do groups have?*
- Who takes responsibility for meeting these needs?*
 - How are the needs met?*
 - What is shared leadership?*
 - How does it function?*

Therefore group functions, leadership styles and functions

● SKILLS PRACTICE ●

A variety of group exercises and application to programme issues and emergent conflicts within the training group.

SELF-ASSESSMENT AND PERSONAL GROWTH

AIM

To encourage self-assessment in order to enable personal responsibility for learning and development.

TRAINERS

Anne Kroon
Davine Thaw
(CIC)

● THEORETICAL INPUT ●

- Why do we need to know ourselves better?*
- Why should we learn to assess ourselves?*
- How do we get to know more about ourselves?*
- How do we learn to assess ourselves?*

● SKILLS PRACTICE ●

A variety of exercises in response to individual and programme needs e.g.

"Johari's window"; "Poster collage"

(How I see myself); "I can make statements";

"A perfect day to plan"; "Norms and Uniqueness"

Programme evaluation

THE LANGUAGE AND INTERACTION COMPONENT

The main focus of the Language and Communication component was on the interactive process. A brief outline of the course is presented below. It is important to point out that the interactive process does not depend primarily on linguistic competence, but on the way in which individuals can use whatever linguistic abilities they have in English to cope with interactive requirements in the workplace.

Furthermore, in the area of language training specifically the assumption was made that it is important for black school leavers to focus on strategies of learning during an orientation course. Blacks, as L2 speakers of English, have understandable language problems, and can ill-afford to say "I don't understand" in the workplace, or pretend to understand when they do not. They therefore need to develop strategies for clarification which will not feed into existing negative stereotypes whites have of the abilities of black employees.

In brief, then, the objectives of the language course specifically are to develop the following skills which are central to coping with interaction and communication demands at work:

- listening and clarifying skills
- speaking skills
- effective skills for communicating across racial and status groups
- reading for information skills
- work-specific writing skills

- The first three skills, i.e. listening and clarifying, speaking and effective interpersonal communication skills, include
 - initiating discourse
 - keeping the lines of communication open, and
 - organising discourse ⁷⁴⁾

This also involves the analysis and understanding of prevailing stereotypes and attitudes in the workplace.

- Reading for information skills involve the extraction of key information and summarising skills.
- Work-specific writing skills include
 - message taking
 - paraphrasing
 - logical ordering of information
 - letter and memo writing
 - report writing

The various aspects of the language course are integrated and reinforced through practical project work and through a thematic approach. For example, language skills are developed in the context of the principles of interpersonal communication. This approach is strengthened through themes which run concurrent with the different facets of interpersonal communication.

The first theme dealt with is "A Critical Assessment of the Value of Education and Training". Students work through a number of current readings on the state of education and training, and in the process develop a critical stance, and perhaps, an attitudinal shift in regard to the value of education and the realities of educational systems in South Africa.

An implicit (and at times explicit) aim here is to facilitate a more informed opinion about the value of education and training. It has been observed that black school-leavers have high aspirations and often experience intense frustration when they achieve what they consider a 'rite of passage' to employment and progress (i.e. a matriculation certificate or even a university degree). When there is very little progress, blacks often believe the reason for this to be discrimination. A strategy which seems to be used to counteract discrimination is to sign up for yet another course or degree. What is aimed at with this theme is therefore a shift from an over-concern with the product of efforts, to a concern with process. A useful side effect is that students start to realise that any educational or social 'deficits' they may have are due to structural constraints, and not due to their inability to compete with white, Indian or coloured counterparts. The onus is, however, on them to bridge a gap they may not have had any part in creating.

Their project involves interviews with members of the community they have identified as the target group. The interviews are taped, transcribed and analysed in terms of

- information on attitudes they have gathered,
- effective communication strategies they have used, and
- barriers to effective communication.

Control is in the hands of students who design the questions they would like to ask.

The design of the questionnaire in itself offers an opportunity to practise a unique language activity: in order to avoid ambiguity, students need to anticipate possible interpretations and responses to questions. They need to 'prune' their questions in order to make them clear and unambiguous. Questions also need to be grouped and ordered.

Other projects and themes include the following:

The theme "Women in Society" offers a different 'struggle' especially appreciated by women on the course who invariably have to cope with traditional role prescriptions. This theme also challenges certain preconceived role expectations men on the course may have of women.

The project students work on in this context is the presentation of personal histories of black women by whom they have been impressed. This entails the planning and execution of in-depth interviews, the writing up of information gathered, as well as the presentation thereof.

A useful consequence of this type of project is that students consciously choose black role models and, in an indirect way, analyse the personality traits of a person they admire.

Another important theme dealt with is "Employment", and, linked to this, "Urban Society" and "The Age of Technology". Here the emphasis shifts from communicating with people who are perceived to be alike, to people outside the students' community and training experience.

Practical project work here involves interviews with personnel managers with the explicit aims of

- 1) gathering information on
 - expectations employers have of new employees,
 - problems new employees experience in adjusting to the workplace, and
 - problems specific to new black employees; and
- 2) analysing the interaction during the interview in terms of the effectiveness or otherwise of the interaction.

A useful dynamic in this type of activity is the role reversal which students experience - they do the interviewing whilst employers have to do the explaining.

A final activity on the Work Orientation and Language Programme is a seminar which deals directly with the black school-leaver and employment. Students work in pairs or groups and prepare papers for presentation. Different interest groups, including prospective employers, are invited to the seminar, and, once again, control is in the hands of the students who organise and present the seminar. The issues discussed at the seminar also become integrated in a newsletter which the students produce.

It is suggested that activities such as these have value in so far as they become instrumental in breaking down negative stereotypes employers may have of black school-leavers. The only possible limitation is that there normally is a small audience which is already well aware of factors which may affect black school-leavers' access to employment as well as their progress in the workplace.

8.0 SOME TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

The basic assumption on which the Work Orientation and Language Programme is based is that it is pivotal for black school-leavers who enter the industrial work environment to develop a new approach to learning and, in the process, a strong sense of self-esteem. It is believed that this will give them the beginnings of individual control over their own development and their progress at work.

The realities of the workplace, however, suggest that a 3-month orientation course may not be sufficient, and that follow-up work with students who have been on the programme may be crucial for two main reasons. Firstly, students/new employees will need the support of trainers on the programme, and of the training organisation as a whole, while they go through the initial stages of adaptation. Secondly, they may need additional formal training input which will help them apply the experience-based learning model to the realities of their own work situation.

A real concern after two-and-a-half years of training and research is that we have perhaps conceptually over-prepared students for the workplace, and that this might have been at the expense of the development of 'hard' skills at times. They have to work alongside supervisors and fellow employees who give very little thought, if any, to the interactive process between black and white at work. Furthermore, it perhaps takes longer than a 3-month orientation course to adapt to a completely new way of learning. The legacy of deferential behaviour of blacks, and the entrenched roles of white as superior and black as subordinate run deep and require constant effort and application on the part of individuals to work against the forces which determine the unequal power relations of black and white in the South African context.

The detail contained in the analysis of the research conducted and the outline of an intervention programme must be seen in a particular light. The elements identified as constituting problems of black school-leaver adaptation are the specific consequences of group boundaries which over time have become formidably entrenched as perceptual realities in our society.

In most other societies, even in those in which segregation and group inequality exist, group boundaries are often sufficiently diffuse to allow the interpenetration of a degree of cultural learning. In South Africa, however, largely as a consequence of residential and educational segregation, the society has remarkably little in the way of a common "interactional" culture. The cleavages of everyday sub-cultures, furthermore, are most marked among the youth. The programme as outlined is an attempt to provide a partial corrective to this situation of "functional" alienation of black youth entering the industrial and commercial subculture. It can never hope to achieve the integration of the up and coming generation which most societies achieve more effectively by less formal and infinitely more pervasive processes.

In addition to the type of bridging programme we have suggested or prescribed, it is necessary that employing organisations become aware of the myriad specific effects on new black employees of the structures in our deeply-divided society. Here we are not only stressing the need for white supervision to become sensitive to the issues involved. Organisations can address the issue much more comprehensively. It is with these considerations in mind that we would suggest that wider political issues, such as separate education and group areas, are of intimate and legitimate concern to employers in South Africa.

Notes

1. For the purposes of this report, Black Advancement means the conscious promotion of black people in organisations to occupy positions previously held by whites. Although black advancement often conveniently includes the advancement of all race groups who are not white, black in this report refers to African blacks, unless otherwise specified.
2. See N. Cloete (1981).
Also J. Aitcheson (1983).
3. See, for example, D. Adler (1984).
4. Blacks predominantly fill positions in the semi-skilled and unskilled levels of the South African labour force. See Manpower Survey, Supplement to Financial Mail, August 27, 1982.

See also Department of Manpower, National Manpower Commission: Report of the National Manpower Commission for the period 1 January 1982 -31 December 1982. RP 45/83.
5. The Group Areas Act of 1950 determined separate living areas for the different race groups, which entailed separate education and differential per capita expenditure on education. See L. Schlemmer (1981).
6. H. McCarthy and L. Schlemmer (1984).
7. See, for example,
 - P. Kallaway (Ed.) (1984).
 - K. Hartshorne (1983).
 - A.J. Gilbert (1982).
 - M. Bot (1985).

8. D. Adler (1984) refers to the irremediable disadvantage of a system which is segregated from other educational systems, and gives an insightful analysis of some of the negative consequences, especially with regard to the adaptation process in the workplace.
9. White Paper on the Report on High-level Manpower in South Africa, 1981: Pretoria, Government Printer.
Also see E. Morran and L. Schlemmer (forthcoming).
10. D. Myers (1979).
11. See, for example, N.E. Wiehahn (1985)
and
B. Chalmers (1985).
12. 7th Report on the Signatory Companies to the Sullivan Principles. Prepared for Rev. H.L. Sullivan by Arthur D. Little Inc. 1983.
13. See K.B. Hofmeyr (1981).
14. See, for example, A. Foxcroft (1983).
15. This is also largely supported in Hofmeyr's research.
16. One black respondent referred to the "box communities" the State has created through segregation. He maintained that we cannot create 'boxes' and then expect a person leaving his or her black community to communicate effectively in what is essentially a white business world.

Also see L. Human 1981(a) and 1981(b).
17. See Note 1 for a definition of Black Advancement.

18. W.L. Baqwa (1981).
19. E. Mafuna (1981).
20. See, J.C. Thompson and G. Godsell (1981).
Also, R Erwee and C.D. Pottas (1982).
21. We are referring here to 'cultural' differences which are brought about by socio-economic conditions prevalent in black townships.
22. D. Webster (1976).
23. A. Vilakazi (1983).
24. See Appendix 1(a).
25. The non-technical skills included in the table were selected from the overall responses of the total sample. Specifically, the table includes only the results where there were differences of more than 20% between criterion group and the sample group.
26. See Appendix 1(b).
27. See Appendix 1(c) for a detailed description of the factor items.
28. Fifty-nine percent of supervisors gave "To be honest and have integrity" a score of 10, while 86 % scored this item 8, 9 or 10. Thirty Percent of supervisors gave "To be willing to learn from others" a score of 10, while 72% scored this item 8, 9 or 10.
29. It will be recalled that employers regard the lack of a 'trainable base' and 'traditional culture' as the two major barriers blocking the advancement of blacks in organisations.

30. See, for example,
- M.E. Nasser (1980 and 1984).
 - and
 - A.B.I. McWilliam Smith (1981).
31. In order to explore adaptation problems and typical interactional situations in the workplace, the researcher actually became a new employee in one of the major banks in Durban. See H. McCarthy (1983).
32. For a more detailed description of the specific skills required for adaptation, see H. McCarthy (1983).
33. In general, they feel that they are kept in departments like Savings and Telling because they serve a useful function of 'dealing with' their people.
34. A modified version of Kelly's Repertory Grid Technique was used. Respondents had to identify 'significant others' in the workplace; identify similarities and differences between these role-figures, and rate each individual on each construct; express feeling reactions to the role-figures; and rank order positive and negative feelings experienced during a working day. See Appendix 2.
35. The theory is concerned with the assessment of the types of mental images which become personal constructs and the development of these through personal everyday experiences. Constructs are therefore not seen as static, but as ways in which people can verify their perceptions of reality and also as ways in which they can alter their circumstances for their own advancement. The model underlying Kelly's construct theory is his view of 'man the scientist' who seeks to understand, predict and control the course of events in which he is involved.

See, for example,
- D. Bannister (Ed.) (1977).

36. See Appendix 2.
37. One hundred and ninety nine new employees from three different race groups (Africans N=100; whites N=52 and Indians N=47) comprised the sample. Respondents had at least one year's work experience and not more than five.
38. For the identification of salient constructs, simple response frequencies were obtained for each construct category. Initially the total number of individually-defined constructs was well over 200. These were hand-sorted into 32 somewhat broader categories and labelled appropriately. Three independent researchers, representing each of the ethnic groups concerned, evaluated the categorisation procedure.
- Other procedures used were 1) a method similar to that used in a chi-squared analysis; and 2) multiple regression procedures.
39. The high response frequency on the construct 'social supportiveness' indicates that the role figures new black employees chose, were chosen at least a quarter of the time on the basis of the social support they give.
40. See note 30.
41. Compare, for example, the most important constructs for the white and Indian group: 'competence at work', 'accommodation of others', and 'social integration'.
42. See H. Griesel and L. Schlemmer (1984).
43. See B. Hirson (1981).

44. Matthews, quoted in Hirson (1981) writes as early as 1935 that blacks prefer English as medium of instruction - "they sent their children to school...to town to read and write English and to assimilate some of the white man's ways of doing things" (p. 224). The picture has not changed. Furthermore, economic considerations have made it absolutely necessary that blacks learn one or both official languages while still at school.

With the Bantu Education Act (1954) under the new National government, blacks reacted sharply against mother tongue instruction which they considered would be inferior education. About twenty years later the language issue at black schools triggered wide-spread school unrest. The reason for this was that Afrikaans was to be introduced as medium of instruction. English was regarded as the main language of commerce and industry, the lingua franca in larger towns, an international language and the language used in the more sympathetic newspapers. See Hirson.

45. C. Brumfit (1978).

46. See J. K. Chick (1984).

47. For an analysis of barriers to horizontal levels of communication see E.M. Rogers (1976).

48. Group 1 : N=25, and Group 2 : N=30.

49. The criteria used for assessing language competence were adapted from Carroll's (1980) "Interview Assessment Scale". See B. J. Carroll (1980).

50. See M. Seneque (1984).

51. See T.S. Magojo (1984).

52. Trainees of the second Work Orientation and Language Programme wrote essays on their expectations of their pending one-week work experience which formed part of the programme.
53. The essays were content-analysed and these issues were raised by at least 75% of the trainees.
54. Thirty-six trainees on the Community Services Training Programme (Durban: Centre for Applied Social Sciences) responded to six open-ended questions directed: 1) at their perceptions of blacks' attitudes to English and Zulu; 2) at appropriate choice of language in different situations; and 3) at characteristics which can be ascribed to the two languages. Written responses were content-analysed.
55. Respondents regarded 'diluted' Zulu as distinct from 'tsotsitaal'. It is also regarded as a 'gentler' and 'softer' version of Zulu where the last syllables are often dropped and consonants are not pronounced as 'harshly' and 'proudly' as in traditional Zulu. This variety of Zulu characteristically also includes words and phrases borrowed from English.
56. Blacks between the ages of 18 and 30, who are employed (or have been employed in the past), speak Zulu as their mother tongue, and have a working understanding of English, were interviewed. N = 90 responded to the questionnaire in English and N = 96 in Zulu, because differences in attitudes were expected, depending on the language in which respondents were interviewed.
57. Trainees on the Community Services Training Programme (referred to in note 54) elaborated on the reasons for blacks using English words and phrases, and preferring to speak English when drinking.

58. See L. Human (1981(a) and 1981(b)).
59. See A. Memmi (1965).
60. Sylvia Magojo was mainly responsible for this study. Professor Theodor Hanf also offered valuable assistance with the design of the questionnaire.
61. There are a vast number of academic articles and newspaper reports which describe the conditions prevalent in black schools. For a thought-provoking analysis of black education, see P. Kallaway (Ed.) (1984).
62. See, for example, M. Böt (1985) and A. Gilbert (1982).
63. K. Hartshorne (1983).
64. See, for example, L. Schlemmer (1983).
65. Although it can be argued that this would have influenced the results, the principals were all genuinely concerned about the situation in black schools, and as a result were very cooperative. We doubt, therefore, if they would have chosen inappropriate teachers and pupils for the focus group discussion.
66. See note 60.
67. See T. Morphet and A. Schaffer (1983).
68. Ibid.
69. See P. Kallaway (1984) pp 28/29 for an overview.
70. The Work Orientation and Language Programme is a 3-month full-time programme which is offered at the Career Information Centre.

71. Although we regard this conceptual distinction between 'education' and 'training' as important, the word 'training' is used in the discussion of the programme, and has to be taken to mean both.
72. See, Davine Thaw, "Making Learning Tasks More Meaningful. A Case Study: The Work Orientation and Language Programme", Durban: Centre for Adult Education, University of Natal, June 1984 (unpublished manuscript).
73. This section is duplicated from H. McCarthy and L. Schlemmer (1984).
74. Mervyn Ogle (1984) "Intercultural Communication and ESP: The Development of suitable methods and materials". Honours project, Department of General Linguistics and Communication, University of Natal, Durban.

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Appendix 1

- Checklist No. 1
- Checklist No. 2
- Results of factor analysis

Appendix 1(a)

Employers

The following is a list of specific non-technical skills black school-leavers might need in order to be successful in the work situation. We would like to solicit your opinion as to how important these skills are to an employee's success. In this regard, please rate each of the following statements as either

1. very important to be successful
2. good, but not important to be successful
3. not important to be successful

by circling the number which corresponds to your view.

1.	To have a sense of humour	1	2	3
2.	To listen attentively when spoken to	1	2	3
3.	To have business know-how	1	2	3
4.	To be able to do things now and also keep the future in mind	1	2	3
5.	To have the will to succeed	1	2	3
6.	To be able to work in a group	1	2	3
7.	To speak English easily	1	2	3
8.	To be able to influence others	1	2	3
9.	To judge others correctly	1	2	3
10.	To be able to guide others	1	2	3
11.	To be firm in your decisions	1	2	3
12.	To give clear instructions	1	2	3
13.	To accept responsibility	1	2	3
14.	To understand and use information you get	1	2	3
15.	To act like a father to people under you	1	2	3
16.	To be willing to change your ways of doing things	1	2	3
17.	To be able to get across to people what you really mean	1	2	3
18.	To work for the interest of your company rather than for yourself	1	2	3

19.	To judge situations correctly	1	2	3
20.	To be willing to learn	1	2	3
21.	To realise that supervisors know best	1	2	3
22.	To follow best orders without checking whether you know exactly what to do	1	2	3
23.	To work for personal advancement rather than the success of the company as a whole	1	2	3
24.	To have intelligence	1	2	3
25.	To be able to solve conflicts or disagreements	1	2	3
26.	To do what you are told	1	2	3
27.	To use facts, not beliefs, for making decisions	1	2	3
28.	To plan in your head	1	2	3
29.	To be able to do things on your own without being told to do them	1	2	3
30.	To think of all alternatives before doing something	1	2	3
31.	To use special skills of people working for you	1	2	3
32.	To remain calm when things go wrong	1	2	3
33.	To be able to take immediate action when it is needed	1	2	3
34.	To trust people	1	2	3
35.	To get people's attention when speaking	1	2	3

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|---|---|---|
| 36. | To be able to look ahead and see the necessary steps towards achieving a goal | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 37. | To listen to and use the suggestions of others | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 38. | To insist that others listen to your ideas when you think it is needed | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 39. | To have a pleasing manner when you work with others | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 40. | To take part in discussions | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 41. | To be honest | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 42. | To be able to work on your own without help | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 43. | To complete a job within a fixed time period | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 44. | To mix socially with all the people you work with | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 45. | To think of others before your think of yourself | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 46. | To have time in the work situation for self development | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 47. | To know the organisation you work for well | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 48. | To use appropriate language | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 49. | To do things the way you are told even when you are not sure it is the right way | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 50. | To have good manners | 1 | 2 | 3 |

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION

Appendix 1(b)



Appendix 1(b)

SUPERVISORS' ANALYSIS OF CLERICAL EMPLOYEE CHARACTERISTICS

In order to help us in the design of training programmes, we are interested in establishing the characteristics supervisors consider to be important in clerical/administrative employees. Please give points out of 10 to each of the following characteristics.

A score of 10 means the characteristic is absolutely essential whilst a score of 1 means the characteristic is of little/no value in the office setting.

NOTE: You should give more or less 5 out of 10 to all those which are important but not very important or essential.

	<u>Score out of 10</u>
To consider all options before acting
To be sensitive to others' feelings
To work for the benefit of the team
To have good written English
To understand how specific tasks fit into the overall running of the organisation
To listen and use suggestions of others
To cope with responsibility
To be sociable and easy to get on with
To have a sense of humour
To remain calm when things go wrong
To be able to work under pressure
To be content to start at the bottom

Score out of 10

To ask questions when appropriate	.....
To offer suggestions and new ideas	.....
To be clear and precise when communicating with others	.....
To appreciate supervisors' efforts	.....
To be able to look ahead and see the necessary steps towards a goal	.....
To be quick and responsive to requests	.....
To discuss work-related problems	.....
To work accurately	.....
To be well-groomed	.....
To show respect for superiors	.....
To have a good command of spoken English	.....
To work without constant supervision	.....
To be willing to learn from others	.....
To be quick to grasp or learn new tasks and situations	.....
To be punctual	.....
To be able to resolve personality conflicts	.....
To have good manners	.....
To be willing to put in extra effort in order to complete a task	.....
To be well-spoken and have a good accent	.....
To be clever	.....

Score out of 10

To have a flexible approach to doing things	.....
To work neatly and tidily	.....
To be honest and have integrity	.....
To understand exactly what is required before proceeding	.....
To be well-qualified	.....
To be bright and cheerful	.....
To be eager to work	.....
To have good listening skills	.....
To understand and use information given	.....
To work for personal advancement	.....
To respect company property and time	.....
To be quiet and self-contained	.....
To follow instructions without question	.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION

Appendix 1(c)

**Table 3: Factor Analysis of the Valuation of Specific Clerical
Employee Characteristics**

	Item Factor ¹ Loadings	Percent of Variation
1. <u>Honesty and Integrity Factor</u>		1.0
<u>Constituent Checklist Items:</u>		
To be honest and have integrity	N/A	
2. <u>Role Responsibility and Coping Factor</u>		
<u>Constituent Checklist Items:</u>		
To be willing to put in extra effort in order to complete a task	.72	
To understand exactly what is required before proceeding	.72	
To understand and use information given	.65	
To be eager to work	.60	
To respect company property and time	.53	
To be quick and responsive to requests	.50	
To ask questions when appropriate	.43	
To cope with responsibility	.43	
To work accurately	.41	
To work for the benefit of the team	.40	
To understand how specific tasks fit into the overall running of the organisation	.40	

1. The factor loading cut-off level was taken as .40

	Item Factor ¹ Loadings	Percent of Variation
	<hr/>	<hr/>
3. <u>Willingness to Learn from Others Factor</u>		14.0
<u>Constituent Checklist Items:</u>		
To be willing to learn from others	N/A	
4. <u>Decisiveness and Tenacity Factor</u>		16.0
<u>Constituent Checklist Items:</u>		
To be able to work under pressure	.62	
To remain calm when things go wrong	.62	
To be clear and precise when communicating with others	.56	
To be quick to grasp or learn new tasks or situations	.50	
To work without constant supervision	.43	
To cope with responsibility	.41	
5. <u>Conformity and Propriety Factor</u>		
<u>Constituent Checklist Items:</u>		
To show respect for superiors	.71	
To be punctual	.54	
To be well-groomed	.50	
To be content to start at the bottom	.47	
To discuss work-related problems	.42	
To work neatly and tidily	.41	

	<u>Item Factor¹ Loadings</u>	<u>Percent of Variation</u>
6. <u>Flexibility Factor</u>		
<u>Constituent Checklist Items:</u>		
To consider all options before acting	.50	
To have a flexible approach to doing things	.46	
7. <u>Language Communication and Presentation Factor</u>		28.1
<u>Constituent Checklist Items:</u>		
To have good written English	.70	
To have a good command of spoken English	.66	
To be well-spoken and have a good accent	.58	
To have good listening skills	.42	
To have good manners	.41	
8. <u>Interactional Facility Factor</u>		31.5
<u>Constituent Checklist Items</u>		
To have a sense of humour	.71	
To be sociable and easy to get on with	.61	
To offer suggestions and new ideas	.61	
To listen and use suggestions of others	.55	
To appreciate supervisors' efforts	.44	
To ask questions when appropriate	.43	
To have good listening skills	.42	
To be bright and cheerful	.41	

Appendix 2

Modified Kelly's Repertory Grid Technique

EXERCISE 1: SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

- (a) Write down the names of the people you come into contact with at work or in training. Also write down each person's work position and what that person is or does.

NAME	POSITION AND DUTIES	RACE	SEX

- (b) Write the same names of cards.

Exercise 2(a) WAYS IN WHICH PEOPLE ARE ALIKE AND DIFFERENT

GRID 1

PEOPLE

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	CONSTRUCT	CONTRAST
1												
2												
3												
4												
5												
6												
7												
8												
9												
10												

- Ratings:
- 5 very (friendly)
 - 4 fairly (friendly)
 - 3 both (friendly and unfriendly)
 - 2 fairly (unfriendly)
 - 1 very (unfriendly)

(b) List five people you would most like to have on your staff.

PEOPLE

REASONS

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

EXERCISE 3FEELINGS AND PEOPLE

With whom of those people already identified are you most likely to feel:

comfortable	uncomfortable
happy	unhappy
secure	insecure
liked	disliked
trusted	not trusted
understood	not understood
successful	unsuccessful
accepted	rejected
integrated	isolated
goal orientated	not goal orientated
confident	not confident
relaxed	anxious
impressive	not impressive

EXERCISE 4 (a)

RANKING OF POSITIVE FEELINGS: RANK THE FOLLOWING FEELINGS FROM THOSE MOST OFTEN TO LEAST OFTEN EXPERIENCED DURING A TYPICAL WORKING/TRAINING DAY

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Rank</u>
comfortable
happy
secure
liked
trusted
understood
successful
accepted
integrated
goal orientated
confident
relaxed
impressive

EXERCISE 4 (b)

RANKING OF NEGATIVE FEELINGS: RANK THE FOLLOWING FEELINGS FROM THOSE MOST OFTEN TO LEAST OFTEN EXPERIENCED DURING A TYPICAL WORKING/TRAINING DAY

<u>Negative</u>	<u>Rank</u>
uncomfortable
unhappy
insecure
disliked
not trusted
not understood
unsuccessful
rejected
isolated
not goal orientated
not confident
anxious
not impressive

Appendix 3

- Teacher questionnaire
- Language questionnaire

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CONFIDENTIAL

CENTRE FOR APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
DURBAN

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TEACHERS

A group of Educational researchers from South Africa and Germany are working on a project which hopes to make recommendations to improve education. We believe that teachers' opinions are of great importance and would appreciate yours. Answers are completely confidential. Answers of individuals are added together in the computer according to groups like sex, age groups, etc. and not individuals. We do not need your name or the name of your school. Please feel free to say whatever you feel — there is no right or wrong answer. Some questions may appear to you as not important. Please be so kind and answer them — they can be very important for statistical reasons.

Thank you for your time.

1-18 About influence on children; please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

		AGREE	DISAGREE		
1	A child's natural abilities are more important for his/her success than all the work of a qualified teacher	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
2	If a child is from a bad family background, there is little the school can do to make things better	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
3	On the whole, children are more influenced by what other children say than by what their teachers say	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
4	Whether a child is good or bad in English or Maths depends very much on the quality of the teacher	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
5	Whatever a teacher says in class is not as important as what children hear and see on radio and television	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	8
6	A pupil who asks too many questions is usually a trouble maker	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	9
7	Political thinking is not right for pupils at school	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	10
8	Although the quality of a teacher is important, he/she does not really have much influence on character building	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	11
9	Even if a child's family background is bad, a good teacher can make up for that	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	12
10	Even under very bad conditions at school, a dedicated teacher can achieve a lot to make children succeed in life	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	13
11	Children may be strongly influenced by their friends and classmates, but will in the end listen to a good and mature teacher	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	14
12	Although radio and television may have a strong influence on children, a good teacher can set a lot of things straight	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	15
13	It is only natural and proper that pupils should start thinking about politics	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	16
14	Whatever a teacher's abilities, he/she cannot achieve very much under the present conditions of the school system	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	17

		AGREE	DISAGREE	
15	Children have little to offer of their own - they have to be shaped by their teachers	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 18
16	The main thing for pupils to do is to concentrate in class and remember what they are taught	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 19
17	Children grow up too early these days	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 20
18	One should not be too harsh but children have to be broken in and taught discipline	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 21

19-41 Here are a number of things children can learn at school. Tell me whether a person like yourself thinks these are very important, important, or not important for children to learn at school.

		Very Important	Important	Not Important	
19	to work for self advancement	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 22
20	to have good manners	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 23
21	to be fluent in English	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 24
22	to be honest	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 25
23	to be reliable	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 26
24	to be easy to get on with	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 27
25	to show respect for superiors	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 28
26	to make peace when people quarrel	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 29
27	to start things without being told to do so	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 30
28	to obey	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 31
29	to be willing to learn from others	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 32
30	to ask intelligent questions	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 33
31	to listen to unfair criticisms without showing you are angry	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 34
32	to work without constant supervision	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 35
33	to be punctual	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 36

		Very Important	Important	Not Important	
34	to work for the benefit of the team	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 37
35	to keep quiet when told to	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 38
36	to become curious and interested in life	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 39
37	to enjoy school	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 40
38	to develop a richer, more varied personality	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 41
39	to learn to persevere and battle through	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 42
40	to learn to remember and memorise facts	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 43
41	to appreciate that one is nobody unless well-educated	1	2	3	<input type="checkbox"/> 44

42-53 Here are some impressions people may have of teachers. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

		AGREE	DISAGREE	
42	It is a pity, but most students do not trust their teachers	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 45
43	Many teachers are afraid to teach older students	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 46
44	Unfortunately principals do not give enough support for teachers	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 47
45	Teachers often punish children in order to show that they are in control	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 48
46	An important thing which really matters in teaching is to get the students through the examinations	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 49
47	Often the hardworking teachers have to make up for the lazy ones	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 50
48	Unfortunately too many teachers cheat sometimes with exam papers	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 51
49	Teachers sometimes lose control in class and feel helpless	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 52
50	Many teachers feel students should be punished when they don't follow instructions	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 53
51	Quite a few teachers take a drink during school hours	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 54
52	On the whole most teachers like their jobs	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 55
53	A teacher has to be very strong and firm to control a class these days	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 56

54-69 What we hope for is one thing, but what really happens is often different. Think of your present students. Do you think the following is true for most of your students, or not?

		True for most	Not true for most		
54	They work for self-advancement	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	57
55	They are rude to teachers	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	58
56	They are fluent in English	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	59
57	They do not want to learn from teachers	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	60
58	They are hardworking	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	61
59	They ask intelligent questions	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	62
60	They are punctual	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	63
61	They keep quiet when told to	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	64
62	They work only with constant supervision	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	65
63	They are difficult to get on with	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	66
64	They start things without being told to do so	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	67
65	They do not want to listen to criticisms	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	68
66	They are reliable	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	69
67	They work for the benefit of the team	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	70
68	They make peace when people quarrel	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	71
69	They show respect for superiors	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	72

70. Here is a picture of how students can feel about school-life in South Africa.

Which face shows the way most students feel about life at school now?

(READ AND POINT TO FACES):

The face at the top is of students who are very happy with life at school



1. Very happy

The next face is of students who are just happy but not very happy at school



2. Happy

The next face is of students who are not happy but also not unhappy - they are in the middle



3. Neutral

The next face is of students who are unhappy with life at school



4. Unhappy

The last face is of students who are angry and impatient with life at school



5. Angry and impatient

6. Refuse

71-75 Here are some impressions teachers may have of parents. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

		AGREE	DISAGREE	
71	Most parents are not interested in how successful their children are at school	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 74
72	Most parents are unable to assist their children with schoolwork	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 75
73	Most parents I know have reasonable authority over their children	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 76
74	Fortunately most parents like to be advised by teachers	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 77
75	Most parents are interested in what things their children learn at school	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/> 78

76 What kind of principal do you think would be good in your school? Choose between the following:

1	a principal who decides after getting guidance from teachers and students	<input type="checkbox"/> 79
2	a principal who makes his own decisions and guides his teachers and students	

77-79 Many people speak of improvements in education. What changes and improvements would teachers like yourself see as most needed?

77	What things must be improved first _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 4-5
78	What things must be improved after that - second? _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 6-7
79	What things must be improved after that? _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 8-9

80-89 Now I would like you to think of your job as a teacher. Please tell me how you feel about your job by marking yes or no for the following statements:

		YES	NO		
80	If I had the opportunity, I would have preferred another job	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	10
81	I would like to teach in a different school	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	11
82	On the whole I am satisfied with our principal	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	12
83	Although everybody would like to earn more money, my present salary is almost as good as it should be	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	13
84	If I have the opportunity, I would like to work in another country	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	14
85	I don't think there is much chance for promotion in my job	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	15
86	I have no intention to stay in my present job forever. One day I will work for my self	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	16
87	It does not really matter which political group my colleagues belong to, as long as they behave correctly and are co-operative at school	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	17
88	I would like to get a job in commerce or industry one day	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	18
89	It does not really matter which tribal group my colleagues belong to, as long as they behave correctly and are co-operative at school	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	19

90 Here is a picture of how teachers may feel about working at a school in South Africa.

Which face shows the way most teachers feel about life in schools now?

(READ AND POINT TO FACES):

The face at the top is of teachers who are very happy with life at school



1. Very happy

The next face is of teachers who are just happy but not very happy at school



2. Happy

The next face is of teachers who are not happy but also not unhappy - they are in the middle



3. Neutral

The next face is of teachers who are unhappy with life at school



4. Unhappy

The last face is of teachers who are angry and impatient with life at school



5. Angry and impatient

6. Refuse



91-100 The following are opinions which people express from time to time. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

		AGREE	DISAGREE		
91	Before one starts something, one should know whether it will work	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	21
92	Even average people can advance if they help each other	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	22
93	I try hard to live my daily life according to the teachings of my religion	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	23
94	When I think of how my parents lived, I feel that I am better off than they were	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	24
95	It does not matter whether they are rich or poor, I feel very close to people of my language group	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	25
96	Going to church is one of the more important things in my life	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	26
97	With blacks in this country there is a small minority which is very rich and a large majority which is poor	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	27
98	I feel uncertain and fearful about my future	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	28
99	I believe in a life after death, where good people will be rewarded and bad people will be punished	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	29
100	It does not matter whether they are rich or poor, I feel very close to people who are black	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	30

- 101 Imagine a group of people with common goals and common interests. When a serious conflict arises, the people in the group have very different ideas about how to deal with the conflict.

WITH WHOM OF THE FOUR PEOPLE WOULD YOU AGREE MOST.

One man says, "If we cannot come to terms, it is better to split the group so that each part can work on its own".	1
A second person says, "I'd rather give in that spoil the group".	2
The third one says, "We should continue to talk and everybody should give in a bit so that an agreement can be reached".	3
The last says, "I am absolutely certain I am right. I'll never give in, but will rather break up the whole group".	4

31

- 102-103 Of the following things, which in your opinion is the most important and second most important for success in life?

	Tick Most Important	Tick Second most Important
individual effort	1	1
education	2	2
experience	3	3
connections	4	4
heritage	5	5
luck	6	6
tricks	7	7
doing what you are told	8	8
finding new ways of doing things and new ideas	9	9

32

33

- 104 Imagine you win a lot of money. Which of the following would you like to do most? (Tick only one.)

buy a plot or house	1
buy a car or furniture	2
start your own business	3
put it in a bank at a good interest rate	4
buy smart clothes	5
donate money to welfare	6
go on an interesting holiday	7
give a present to someone you love	8
entertain friends	9
start a good library of books	10
buy equipment to start an interesting hobby	11

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------

34-35

- 105 If you had the opportunity, which of the following would you like to do most. (Tick only one.)

go to another school	1
find a job in industry	2
improve your qualifications	3
become self-employed	4
stay at home	5
work in another country	6

<input type="checkbox"/>

36

106 Who do you trust the most? (Tick only one.)

relatives and family members	1
neighbours	2
colleagues at school	3
your principal	4
close friends	5
nobody	6

37.

107-115 The following are once again feelings people sometimes express. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

		AGREE	DISAGREE		
107	There are not many things someone like me can do to improve the lives of people around me	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	38
108	I do not think my children will have the chance in future to live as well as I do now	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	39
109	I don't care whether my neighbour belongs to my own tribal (ethnic) group or to another	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	40
110	I can be happy and enjoy life without believing in God or any god	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	41
111	When I think about people who live in the rich parts of the city, I think I have the right to live like them	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	42
112	If one tries to change things, one finds that things generally get worst	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	43
113	With blacks in this country there are not many who are very poor or very rich	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	44
114	Over the last ten years the gap between rich and poor blacks has widened	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	45
115	The religion of our African ancestors is stronger than Christian religion	1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	46

116 Which church or religion do you belong to?

Anglican	1
Catholic	2
Methodist	3
Other established Christian (DRC, Presbyterian, Lutheran)	4
African Sep. Churches (Zion, Ethiopian, Non-European Sects)	5
European Sects (Apostolic/Baptist/ Full Gospel, etc.)	6

 47

117-119 Which newspapers do you read regularly? Maximum of 3.

Rand Daily Mail	1
Natal Mercury	2
Daily News	3
City Press	4

Sunday Times	5
Sunday Tribune	6
Post	7
Ilanga	8
Other	9

 48
 49
 50

120 For how many years have you lived in a large city/town?

Number of years

1 - 3	1
4 - 6	2
7 - 9	3
10 years and above	4

 51

121-123 Which organisations or clubs are you most active in?
(Maximum three).

Teachers Ass.	1
Burial Society	2
Religious Organisation	3
Social Organisation	4
Sports Club	5
Political Organisation	6
Other	7
	8
	9

<input type="checkbox"/>	52
<input type="checkbox"/>	53
<input type="checkbox"/>	54

124 What ethnic group appears on your Reference Book?

Zulu	1
Sotho	2
Xhosa	3
Swazi	4
Venda	5
Shangaan	6
Tswana	7
Other	8

<input type="checkbox"/>	55
--------------------------	----

125-129 What language do you use most when you are

		Zulu	English	Afrik.	Other
125	at home	1	2	3	4
126	visiting friends	1	2	3	4
127	with your wife/husband/ boy or girlfriend	1	2	3	4
128	reading	1	2	3	4
129	writing	1	2	3	4

<input type="checkbox"/>	56
<input type="checkbox"/>	57
<input type="checkbox"/>	58
<input type="checkbox"/>	59
<input type="checkbox"/>	60

130 For how long have you taught?

1	Less than 1 year
2	1 - 3 years
3	4 - 6 years
4	7 - 9 years
5	10 years and above

<input type="checkbox"/>	61
--------------------------	----

131 How old are you?

1	18 - 24 years
2	25 - 29 years
3	30 - 34 years
4	35 - 39 years
5	40 years and above

<input type="checkbox"/>	62
--------------------------	----

132 Please tick your highest qualification

1	No post-school qualifications
2	PTC (Primary Teachers' Certificate)
3	STD (Secondary Teachers' Diploma)
4	JPTC (Junior Primary Teachers' Certificate)
5	SSTD (Senior Secondary Teachers' Diploma)
6	Other Specify:

63

INTERVIEWER'S NAME:

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

ANY COMMENTS:

.....

.....

.....

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STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Centre for Applied Social Sciences
University of Natal
Durban

A SURVEY OF BLACKS' PERCEPTIONS OF LANGUAGE USE

July, 1984

OFFICE USE ONLY:

CHECKED: _____

CODED: _____

Good day. My name is _____ I greet you. I am from the University of Natal.

We are studying the way languages are used so that we can make some recommendations about how they should be taught at school. We believe that opinions of people like yourself are of great importance and would like to know what you think. Answers are completely confidential. Answers of individuals are added together in the computer according to groups like sex, age groups, etc., and not individuals. We do not need your name. Please feel free to say whatever you feel - there is no right or wrong answer.

Thank you for your co-operation.

FOR OFFICE
USE ONLY

- Which language do blacks like you, LIKE to use when they speak to the following blacks:
14-21 (CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

	English	Afr-ikaans	Zulu	Other	
14 very close friends	1	2	3	4	17
15 girlfriend/wife or boyfriend/husband	1	2	3	4	18
16 members of their family	1	2	3	4	19
17 neighbours	1	2	3	4	20
18 children in the neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	21
19 young people their age in the neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	22
20 friends they meet at parties	1	2	3	4	23
21 old people in the neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	24

- Which language do you use most often when you
22-26

22 count	1	2	3	4	25
23 pray	1	2	3	4	26
24 make jokes	1	2	3	4	27
25 insult people	1	2	3	4	28
26 talk to yourself when you are angry	1	2	3	4	29

- Think of the languages used in the media. Which of these languages do you prefer when you
27-29

27 listen to the radio	1	2	3	4	30
28 read newspapers	1	2	3	4	31
29 watch T.V.	1	2	3	4	32

- 30 Which of the following do you feel yourself to be?
(READ OUT CATEGORIES)

1	A person who is fully of the city whose life and future is in the city
2	A person whose real place is in the rural area but who has to work in the city
3	A person who is changing from a rural person to being a city person

33

- 31 Taking all things together, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? On the whole would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?
(READ OUT CATEGORIES)

1	Very satisfied
2	Satisfied
3	Dissatisfied
4	Very dissatisfied
5	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
6	Don't know

34

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32-43 Which language do people like you think is best to use when they speak to the following blacks:
(CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

	English	Afrikaans	Zulu	Other: Specify.....	Never in contact	
32 blacks visiting the organization where you work	1	2	3	4	5	35
33 superiors at work	1	2	3	4	5	36
34 colleagues at work	1	2	3	4	5	37
35 people below you at work	1	2	3	4	5	38
36 people in buses or trains	1	2	3	4	5	39
37 people to do with administration and government offices	1	2	3	4	5	40
38 people in courts	1	2	3	4	5	41
39 people you meet when shopping	1	2	3	4	5	42
40 teachers	1	2	3	4	5	43
41 medical people	1	2	3	4	5	44
42 social workers	1	2	3	4	5	45
43 police	1	2	3	4	5	46

- The following are some feelings people like you have about the use of English.

44-54






Say whether you agree or disagree.

	AGREE	DISAGREE	
44	1	2	47
45	1	2	48
46	1	2	49
47	1	2	50
48	1	2	51
49	1	2	52
50	1	2	53
51	1	2	54
52	1	2	55
53	1	2	56
54	1	2	57

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- Here are pictures of how people like you feel when they speak English in different situations.

55-58

1	The face at the top is of people who are <u>very happy</u> when they speak English	
2	The next face is of people who are <u>just happy</u> but not <u>very happy</u> when they speak English	
3	The next face is of people who are <u>not happy</u> but also <u>not unhappy</u> - they are in the middle when they speak English	
4	The next face is of people who are <u>unhappy</u> when they speak English	
5	The last face is of people who feel <u>frustrated</u> and <u>angry</u> when they speak English	

Which face shows the way most people feel when they speak English in the following situations:

55 to bosses at work

58

56 to blacks regarded as educated

60

57 at formal meetings

60

58 at social gatherings

61

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- I am going to read some words which people use when they describe language. I want you to tell me which word in each pair of words describes Zulu best. You must not stop to think very long but just tell me quickly which word describes Zulu best.

	ZULU		ZULU	
59	1	contains knowledge	- contains little know- ledge	2 4
60	1	powerful	- weak	2 5
61	2	limited words	- many words	1 6
62	2	long winded	- to the point	1 7
63	1	many polite words	- not many polite words	2 8
64	2	indirect	- direct	1 9
65	1	easy to express emotions	- difficult to express emotions	2 10
66	1	strong sounds	- gentle sounds	2 11
67	1	useful	- useless	2 12
68	2	unpleasant	- pleasant	1 13
69	1	confident	- not confident	2 14
70	2	does not sound important	- sounds important	1 15
71	2	ugly	- pretty	1 16
72	2	cold	- warm	1 17
73	1	makes one feel liberated	- does not make one feel liberated	2 18
74	1	modern	- traditional	2 19
75	2	contains little wisdom	- contains wisdom	1 20
76	1	developed	- undeveloped	2 21
77	2	cannot describe work related problems	- can describe work related problems	1 22

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- I am going to read the same words to you and I want you to tell me which words describe English best.

	ENGLISH		ENGLISH	
78	1	contains knowledge	- contains little knowledge	23
79	1	powerful	- weak	24
80	2	limited words	- many words	25
81	2	long winded	- to the point	26
82	1	many polite words	- not many polite words	27
83	2	indirect	- direct	28
84	1	easy to express emotions	- difficult to express emotions	29
85	1	strong sounds	- gentle sounds	30
86	1	useful	- useless	31
87	2	unpleasant	- pleasant	32
88	1	confident	- not confident	33
89	2	does not sound important	- sounds important	34
90	2	ugly	- pretty	35
91	2	cold	- warm	36
92	1	makes one feel liberated	- does not make one feel liberated	37
93	1	modern	- traditional	38
94	2	contains little wisdom	- contains wisdom	39
95	1	developed	- undeveloped	40
96	2	cannot describe work related problems	- can describe work related problems	41

- The following are some feelings people like you have about the use of Zulu. Say whether you agree or disagree with each of the statements.

	AGREE	DISAGREE	
97 Younger people in townships make those who speak traditional Zulu feel less worthy	1	2	42
98 Those who can only speak traditional Zulu are people with little or no education	1	2	43
99 Blacks who do not speak traditional Zulu have been spoiled by city life	1	2	44
100 Blacks who speak traditional Zulu are trusted and respected	1	2	45
101 Those who speak a township Zulu show themselves to be modern and educated	1	2	46
102 Speaking traditional Zulu is a sign of wisdom and knowledge of customs and values	1	2	47
103 Older people in townships feel sorry for those who cannot speak a pure form of Zulu	1	2	48
104 In general, blacks in townships like to add a few words in English when they speak Zulu	1	2	49
105 People who are educated need not worry about trying to speak a pure, traditional Zulu	1	2	50
106 Zulu is a language of the past, not of the future	1	2	51
107 Those who want blacks to speak their own languages want to keep them backward	1	2	52
108 Zulu is the soul of the people and will always be spoken	1	2	53

- 109 In Tanzania people debate about which language should become the official language. The following are the major opinions. With which one do you agree most?

1	In an African country an African language should be the only official language. That is why Swahili should be the only official language
2	No country can develop if it is cut off from the rest of the world. English should be the only official language
3	We need an African language as the official language but also an international language. That is why both English and Swahili should be recognised

54

- 110 In Tanzania people also debate about languages used in schools. With which of the following opinions do you agree most?

1	The only language of instruction in schools should be English
2	Whatever their language background, all children should go to the same school and get a first class knowledge of English
3	People from different language groups should attend different schools in order to get the best results

55

- 111 Who is respected most in township life?

1	those who speak a traditional form of their language
2	those who speak a more modern form of their language
3	those who speak English and their mother tongue
4	those who only speak English and speak it well

56

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- In which of the following situations is it easier to speak English rather than Zulu, and in which is it easier to speak Zulu.

112-123

1	English
2	Zulu

(CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

	ENGLISH	ZULU	
112	when socialising with young blacks	1 2	57
113	when asking for advice from older blacks	1 2	58
114	when discussing politics with fellow blacks	1 2	59
115	when talking about kinship matters	1 2	60
116	at elite meetings like parent-teacher meetings	1 2	61
117	when meeting strangers	1 2	62
118	when talking about religion	1 2	63
119	at mass meetings	1 2	64
120	when speaking to your wife/husband or girlfriend/boyfriend	1 2	65
121	when speaking to an educated black	1 2	66
122	when expressing feelings and ideas	1 2	67
123	when discussing traditional customs and values	1 2	68

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- I would now like to get some background information

124-131

- 124 What job do you have now, or if you are not working now, what job did you have before?

1	Professional (i.e. nurse, teacher, social worker, etc.)
2	Student (not school)
3	Clerical, Administrative and Sales
4	Skilled factory (i.e. blue collar)
5	Unskilled factory (labourer)

72

- 125 (If respondent is unemployed, circle 'currently unemployed')

1	employed
2	currently unemployed

73

- 126 Have you always worked in the city?

1	yes
2	no

74

127 How old are you?

1	18 - 20 years
2	21 - 24 years
3	25 - 27 years
4	28 - 30 years

72

128 What standard of education have you completed and passed?

1	None
2	Substandards
3	Std. 1 - 5
4	Std. 6 - 7
5	Std. 8 - 9
6	Std. 10
7	Post-school training
8	University

73

129 What is your religion/religious denomination?

1	None
2	Catholic
3	Protestant (Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran)
4	Dutch Reformed Church
5	Zionist
6	Traditionalist
7	Muslim
8	Other: Specify _____

74

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130 Do you like living and working in the city?

1	Yes
2	No

75

131 Why/Why not? (PROBE)

76, 77

78, 79

Appendix 4

- Work Orientation
- Personal Development - Understanding of 'Sub-Cultures'
- Clerical Skills and Office Procedure
- Group Functioning
- Self Assessment and Personal Growth

APPENDIX 4 (a)

WORK ORIENTATION

1. WHAT IS AN ORGANISATION?

HOW DO DIFFERENT ORGANISATIONS WORK?

- Exploration of alternative organisational structures and how these are controlled;
- What is a hierarchy;
- Analysing a selection of organisations and naming levels within the organisational hierarchy.

(This component is supplemented by a course on organisational communication.)

2. WHO EMPLOYS YOU?

- Description of public and private sector;
- Analysis of public sector - levels and services;
- Analysis of private sector - goods and services;
- Exercises in information finding.

(This component is supplemented by a course in job seeking skills.)

3. HOW ARE JOBS CREATED?

- Description of the job cycle;
- Analysis of how income is spent and how this contributes to job creation or maintenance;
- Basic description of a "slump" and a "healthy economy".

4. WORK EXPERIENCE

- One week in a placement;
- Preparation prior to and feedback sessions after the work experience period.

5. WHY DO WE WORK?

Group discussion based on questions to reach the range of reasons for work.

(This is a preparation for parts of the self-development course.)

APPENDIX 4 (b)

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT - UNDERSTANDING OF 'SUB-CULTURES'

Visual materials and case studies are used to enable students to identify and analyse personal as well as other 'cultural' responses to social interactions and relationships, and to provide a basis for comparisons to be made between different sub-cultures.

THEORETICAL INPUT

- Explanation of the following concepts

assimilation
 bi-culturation
 acculturation
 pluralism

and their relevance in work and social contexts in South Africa.

- Problem-solving strategy (i.e. learning model) for the use in case studies.

PRACTICAL INPUT

The following themes are covered:

1. Marriage and relationships
 - division of power and role relationships
 - divorce
2. Forms of address for work and social interactions
3. Etiquette
4. General dress patterns
5. Leisure activities- behaviour at restaurants
6. Personal hygiene
7. Black education - comparisons with other education systems.

APPENDIX 4 (c)

CLERICAL SKILLS AND OFFICE PROCEDUREGeneral Objective

To give trainees an opportunity to practice and upgrade the "hard" skills they acquired.

	OBJECTIVES	TASKS
TYPING	upgrading of existing typing skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - business letters - memorandums - typing manuscripts - reports - practicing speed and accuracy
BOOKKEEPING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to introduce a very basic course in bookkeeping - to encourage trainees to open savings accounts and to introduce them to Auto bank 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - cash book, ledger, and journal accounts - petty cash, banking and bank statements
SWITCHBOARD, TELEPHONE ANSWERING AND MESSAGE TAKING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to introduce the proper techniques for answering calls and message taking - to give trainees opportunities to practice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - practical training at CIC - practicing techniques through role plays and pre-recorded tapes - 2 days work experience in various organisations - practical exercises to extract relevant information
COMPUTER AND WORDPROCESSING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to introduce trainees to computers - to dispel the awe most trainees have of computers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - trainees shown computers at University of Natal and the Olympic Typewriter company - exposure to the electric typewriter and word processor - playing computer games
BASIC OFFICE PRACTICES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to introduce trainees to an office-like atmosphere - to give trainees an opportunity to carry out real and simulated office tasks - to give trainees a chance to use their own initiative in handling problems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - trainees assisted in the general running of CIC - photocopying, collating, sending out large postings - trainees learnt a variety of routine office work and errands - use of case studies and simulated events trainees practiced problem solving techniques - discussions on the use of diaries, meeting procedures, minute taking and the assembling of a newsletter

	OBJECTIVES	TASKS
FILING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to introduce trainees to different filing systems and methods and ways of categorising through the CIC Resources Centre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - trainees given own files to index and keep copies of their readings, handouts, exercises, evaluations and questionnaires - trainees practiced and played games and exercises in filing cards and letters - practice using the telephone directory and other information manuals and resources
JOB KNOWLEDGE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to clarify the expectations of prospective employers and the employers in the job-seeking process - to develop specific skills for job-seeking in the commercial field 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - analysing job availability for matriculants in the commercial field by analysing job adverts - analysing the skills required for specific jobs - analysing the individual abilities of trainees - matching personal abilities and skills to specific jobs - analysing letters of application in terms of appropriate information given, language and correct format - preparing a file and curriculum vitae for first job interview - writing a letter of application matching a specific job advert - analysing videoed job interviews in terms of non-verbal behaviour and interactive communication strategies - role-playing telephone and face-to-face interviews - conducting real life telephone and face-to-face interviews which were taped and videoed and later discussed and evaluated

APPENDIX 4 (d)

GROUP FUNCTIONING

THEORETICAL INPUT

- What is a group;
- What is the purpose of a group;
- What needs do groups have;
- Who takes responsibility for meeting these needs;
- How are these needs met;
- What is shared leadership and how does it function.

SKILLS PRACTICE

process	content
Non-verbal exercise	"Broken Squares"
Problem solving exercises	Case Study
Individual reflections exercises	On performance in the problem-solving exercises
Experimenting with leadership functions	
Reflection and feedback	Planning an event
Setting goals for improvement	

(This was run with a variety of content issues as well as emergent conflicts in the group during the programme.)

APPENDIX 4 (e)

SELF ASSESSMENT AND PERSONAL GROWTH

THEORETICAL INPUT

- Why do we need to know ourselves better?
- Why should we learn to assess ourselves?
- How do we get to know more about ourselves?
- How do we learn to assess ourselves?

EXERCISES

A range of exercises are available for use in response to needs expressed by students and in response to emerging programme needs. The following are examples of content material used:

"Things I have in common with others"

"Things that make me different and special"

"A perfect day" - planning one for oneself

"I can make statements"

"Poster collage - How I see myself now and in the future"

"Johari's window"

"Employer/Employee relations"



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